

THE MONTH

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Dean Farrar on the Historic Sense.

THE Gracchi complaining of sedition may have suggested a picture sufficiently edifying, but it is well matched by the display with which the new Dean of Canterbury has recently been pleased to favour us.

The letter of Leo XIII., to the people of this country, has impelled Dean Farrar to tell both the Catholics of England and His Holiness himself, what he thinks about them, which he does in the pages of the *Contemporary Review*, putting them once for all in their proper place, and branding their argumentative efforts with the stigma which they merit. As for our controversialists, he has no word save of utter reprobation; they are as bad as can be: they do not know the rudiments of their craft, and unless they take his advice and mend their manners, may as well retire from business forthwith. The Pope is no doubt courteous and well-intentioned, his attitude deserves sympathy, and his personal character respect; but in history he is sadly to seek, and he must respectfully but resolutely be confronted with facts, which, albeit expressed "without one particle of bitterness," will nevertheless be "hard."

The Head of the Church and his subjects in England, appear, therefore, so far as concerns anything substantial, to be in precisely the same evil plight, neither the one nor the other having anything to say for themselves which is worth the hearing. The Dean would indeed appear to make the naive admission that he is not in the habit of looking at the writings of Catholic apologists who put their names to their work, though these might seem a not unimportant element in the question; but he is clearly of opinion that he has knowledge on the subject, quite sufficient to justify a wholesale and sweeping condemnation.

The English Roman Catholics [he says] have recently established a two-fold "Apostolate" in England: an Apostolate of Prayer . . . and an "Apostolate of the Press." So far as I have seen specimens

of the latter in anonymous Roman Catholic newspapers, it is impossible to conceive anything less suited to advance their object, anything more directly calculated to fill the minds of English Protestants with pity and disdain. Apart from the blank reiteration of statements for which no shred of argument is produced, or only ten-times-refuted views of exegesis and history, these so-called "answers" seem mainly to consist of vulgar and virulent sneers. They involuntarily remind us of the spirit of familiars of the Inquisition.

Such anonymous criticisms hardly deserve the dignity of a place in any good man's waste-paper basket. If the Roman Catholics desire union with us, they must warn their controversialists that they will gain no hearing, unless they undertake the defence of the Christian religion with courtesy and fairness.

Having thus sternly reprehended the misuse of history on the part of others, he proceeds to exhibit a specimen of its right employment, to convince the Pope, and other antagonists, how transparently fallacious are their pretensions, and in how summary a manner a competent scholar can dispose of them. It might be supposed that a writer of some position undertaking such a task, more especially in so public a manner, and after such a preamble, would carefully eschew any semblance of the faults which he reprobates, avoiding all repetition of an even once-refuted assertion, and all vain beating of the air, through lack of such acquaintance with the matters in dispute as may suffice to credit opponents with what they actually hold. But whoever expects Dean Farrar to be so unlike himself as all this would imply, will be at once and rudely undeceived. He presents us with a loose and rambling congeries of observations, like nothing so much as the immortal schoolboy essay, on the theme "Fortune favours the brave," attributed by Cardinal Newman to that ingenuous youth, Mr. Brown, Junior. There is the same sort of belief, that the slipshod treatment of a variety of topics will dispense with the need of accuracy in any one; that the essential point is to career about, over as large a field as possible, trusting to crude generalizations for a bond of unity; and above all, that it is supremely unimportant to ascertain what the points in question are.

To attempt to treat the performance seriously, even were it worth the attempt, would be well-nigh impossible, on account of the vast extent of ground over which the Dean contrives to wander. Whatever any man has ever alleged against the Papacy is the farrago of his book, and his method of warfare

appears to be suggested by the noble Malay practice of running amuck, slashing right and left at everybody and everything into which a creese can be thrust. There passes before us, thick and fast, a medley of dissolving views: the providential destruction of the Armada; the Smithfield fires; the cold heart of James II., and of course Judge Jeffries; Father Petre, "whose language to the English clergy, if correctly reported, was so brutally and coarsely insolent;" the English sea-power, the creation of Protestantism; the miserable state of Catholic peoples; the contrast offered by Gregory the Great and Augustine to the spirit and claims of modern Rome; the "invariably tender mercies of Rome" as exhibited by the same Augustine to the British Bishops; the greed of Rome and Roman ecclesiastics in the middle ages; the prohibition of the Scriptures to the laity; the Bulls of Paul III. and Pius V. against Henry VIII. and Elizabeth; the evil condition of Papal Rome in all ages; the attitude of un-Christian arrogance assumed by the Church; Savonarola; Dante, Petrarch, and Piers Plowman; priesthoods, true and false; the true and only unity existing among all true Christians "in the faith represented by the Lord's Prayer, the Sermon on the Mount, and the two ancient Catholic Creeds of Christendom;" what the text, "Thou art Peter," does *not* mean; St. Peter's Roman Episcopate; what St. Cyprian said about one Bishop being as much a Bishop as another; the thirty-six Popes about whom "we know next to nothing except from the glaring falsities of the forged Decretals;" "the Arian Liberius;" the awful state of things in the tenth century; the impossibility of sinners being infallible; the necessity of praying to God, not to our dead fellow-sinners,—and so forth, and so forth.

This, it will be allowed, is a tolerably ample bill of fare for a magazine article. The extent of the subject is, however, by no means the only difficulty, nor even the most serious, if we desire to study it with any care. If we would examine for ourselves the several items of the Dean's cornucopia, we have to perform an operation much like seeking for the contents of a money-bag which have been impartially scattered over a few square miles of country, for he shows little disposition to gratify the curiosity of those who would know more than he chooses to tell them. As a rule, he appears to rely on such original authorities as Mr. Froude, Mr. Motley, Dean Milman, Dean Hook, the author of *Janus*, and Canon Jenkins, to whose

learned labours he particularly records his obligations. Of reference to any sources of information beyond such writers, there is nothing more helpful than in the famous example: "I think it is a quotation from the poets." Even in regard of his chosen informants, Dean Farrar does but little for his readers. He tells us, for instance, "In the Netherlands, says Motley, 'the possession of the Sermon on the Mount in the vernacular led to the gibbet,'" but he omits to say, not only on what proofs such a statement is based, but, in which of his three rather considerable works dealing with the Low Countries, the historian makes it; a piece of information which would at least enable us to see what demonstration Mr. Motley thinks fit to afford. Again, the Dean has a soul above editions, and cites works, which have passed through many, by volumes and pages, with the result that in the copies to which we have access, though we have tried half a dozen, we can find nothing resembling what we are sent to look for, even the pages indicated being, in one instance, non-existent. In another case, he gives within inverted commas a quotation for which no author is mentioned, so that he who would verify it has the whole field of historical literature before him.

Such a mode of procedure would be sufficiently trying in the case of a writer on whose scrupulous accuracy we might rely, but it is infinitely worse in an instance like the present; for whenever we contrive to struggle through the obstacles so ruthlessly strewn in our path, we find abundant evidence of the absolute necessity of checking every statement offered us. A few examples must suffice.

"Many a martyr," says the Dean,¹ "has been imprisoned, tortured, and burnt by the Church of Rome for possessing the Bible, or a part of it. And persecution on this account has continued even to our own day;" to which bold assertion he appends the following note: "We must deny to Protestants any right to use the Bible, much more to interpret it—*Cardinal Wiseman*."

Now, Cardinal Wiseman is a tolerably voluminous author, and the list of his works, which might be searched for such a declaration, is by no means small. However, we find that in an article in the *Dublin Review*, September, 1852,² the Cardinal

¹ *Contemporary Review*, June, 1895, p. 792.

² P. 232. This paper was published separately under the title, *The Catholic Doctrine on the use of the Bible*.

said, not indeed this, but something which, though quite different, is obviously what is meant: "We must deny to *Protestantism* any right to use the Bible, much more to interpret it." We find, moreover, as the most ordinary knowledge of the question would assure us beforehand, that what he is speaking of is the *logical* right. His argument is one equally simple and familiar. By the authority of the Church alone do Christians know what the Bible is, or what is the Bible. Take away that authority, and you have no assurance either that the Scriptures are the Word of God, or that any particular book is to be included in the Canon. Protestants, rejecting the authority of the Church, abandon the only ground for rational belief in the authority of the Bible, which they profess to retain. This argument the Dean is of course at liberty to refute, if he can; but to cite such a passage in support of his statement about persecution is a proceeding which can be acquitted of gross dishonesty, only on the score of an amount of ignorance scarcely less discreditable.

Moreover, if the Dean would depart from his practice of seeking information concerning Catholics only in "anonymous newspapers," he would learn that were all the facts he alleges never so true, they are altogether irrelevant to the purpose for which he brings them. His statement is that the Popes have denied to the people the right to read the Word of God. But as has been pointed out, considerably more than ten times, by men in every way qualified to speak, it is not the Scripture that the Church has ever forbidden, but what she holds to be erroneous versions of it; and this precisely because she considered God's Word too sacred to be thus maltreated. Here, again, it is free to any one to disprove such a statement of the case, but what good purpose can be secured by a "blank reiteration" of the old cuckoo-cry?

Sir Thomas More, for instance,¹ says of Wyclif's translation, that the Church condemned it, "not because it was new, but because it was naught," and that before and after that heresiarch's time the Bible was left by authority "in laymen's hands, and women's."

Another passage from Sir Thomas may not be inappropriate. It occurs in his dialogue with the "Messenger,"² who begins the conversation thus:

But now to the matter we were in hand with. Ye said ye wold make answer for the lawe, whereby the cleargye of this realme hath

¹ *Dialogue against Heresies*. (Works, 1557, p. 234.)

² *Ibid.* p. 233.

forbiden all the people to have any scripture translated into oure tonge: which is as I said in my mind an evil made lawe.

Marry, quoth I, that is soon answered. Lay the charge to them that made it.

Marry, quoth he, so I dooe. For who made that constitucion but they?

Surely, quoth I, no body els, nor they neyther.

No, quoth he? What, every man knoweth it.

Verily, quoth I, many men talke of it, but no man knoweth it. For there is none such in dede.

But, if our author is unaware of much that is notorious to Catholics, he does not fail to make amends by producing information totally novel to them. On this same subject of Scripture, he tells us, when contrasting St. Gregory the Great with his successors:

St. Gregory, for instance, was a lover and student of the Scriptures. . . . He called the Bible "the great Epistle of the Heavenly Emperor." But his successors in the Bull *Unigenitus* denounced the free reading of the Scriptures by the laity, and made the rights of free Christian men to read the Word of God depend on the permission of priests—often grossly ignorant—who, in thousands of instances, did not themselves possess it, and had never read it.

This is obviously very wild talking. Every priest is bound, under pain of grievous sin, to spend about one hour out of every twenty-four in reading the Scripture, of which the Breviary is mainly composed. From Dean Farrar's way of speaking, it would also appear as though the Bull *Unigenitus* were a serial publication conducted by the Roman Pontiffs, on anti-biblical lines. As a matter of fact, this celebrated Bull, published by Clement XI, in 1713,¹ has no bearing whatever on the question at issue, and neither denounces nor even mentions the promulgation of the Scriptures among the people. All that the Pope does, is to condemn a hundred and one propositions, extracted from the writings of the Jansenist Quesnel, and to condemn them "in the sense of the author." As is well-known to theologians, some of these propositions, taken simply as they stand, seem harmless enough, but in the sense put upon the words by Quesnel and his friends, they became dangerous.² In

¹ *Bullarium Romanum*. Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, p. 243. (Edit. 1874.)

² "Alors même que quelques-unes de ces propositions, envisagées isolément et pour elles-mêmes, ne semblaient pas si perfides, elles étaient toutes animées du même esprit, tendaient au même but, et renforçaient le système général de l'auteur." (Wetzer and Welte, *Dictionnaire de Théologie*, Edit. 1861, art. "Jansénisme et Jansénisme.")

eight of these propositions the reading of Scripture is mentioned, but always in such a manner as to have a bearing on the strange and extravagant mystical system of the Jansenists; and therefore alone were they condemned. Whatever Popes may or may not have done to discountenance the circulation of the Bible, the Bull *Unigenitus* has no more to do with such action of theirs than has Magna Charta. Moreover, there is no single word, good, bad, or indifferent, about the permission of priests, or bishops, or any one else.

Let us turn to another field. Rome, the Dean assures us, has always been a sink of iniquity, and her character has clearly been due to the presence of the Papacy. "We know," he writes,¹ "from the testimony of endless Romish historians and travellers, that Rome has often been more frightfully wicked and depraved than perhaps any city in the whole world. We could quote Popes and canonized saints in witness to our allegation." This being so, it is remarkable to consider the one saintly witness whom he cites to show us what he could do if he would. "St. Jerome," he says, "called Rome a *purpurata meretrix*," and with this he leaves us, *more suo*, to the eleven tomes of that Father's works, to discover when, and wherefore, and in what connection, such an expression was employed.

There can, however, be little doubt, that the passage of which Dean Farrar was thinking, is one which occurs in the collection of St. Jerome's letters,² but it is equally plain that he did not deem it necessary to look at it before citing it. In the first place, the phrase he quotes does not occur, the actual words being *mulier purpurata*. Neither is this expression applied directly to Rome, although clearly used in connection with it, and in the same sense as the other phrase. But then, as our critic insists, if we are not accurate, what are we? More to the purpose is it to find, which again might possibly have been anticipated, that the city thus stigmatized is *pagan* Rome, the great Babylon which has already fallen, but the remnants of whose pomp and worldliness are still an offence to those who would serve God in solitude and prayer; and this, although there be now found in it "the holy Church, the trophies of the Apostles and martyrs, the true confession of Christ, the faith planted by the Apostle, and the name of Christian, erstwhile trampled on by the nations, daily manifesting itself on high."

¹ *Contemporary Review*, ut sup. p. 794.

² Epistola xlv. Migne, P.L., *S. Hieronymus*, i. 490.

Still more worthy of observation, however, is the fact that the letter in which all this occurs should scarcely be called St. Jerome's at all. Though always included amongst his, and perhaps substantially meriting such a description, it is addressed by the pious ladies Paula and Eustochium to the devout widow Marcella, whom they invite to join them at Bethlehem, in comparison with which Rome is, they declare, an uncongenial home for a contemplative soul. If we desire to have the Saint's undoubted estimate of Rome, we may read it elsewhere.¹ "The faith of the people of Rome is praised.² Where is there so great and so eager a concourse in the churches and at the tombs of the martyrs? Where does the *Amen* re-echo so like thunder from heaven, shaking the deserted temples of the false gods? Not that the Romans have another faith than all the Churches of Christ; but that in them there is greater devotion, and simple readiness to believe."

For another sample of the Historic Method as understood by Dean Farrar, we take almost at random the following:³

Our conception of a Church differs fundamentally from that of modern Ultramontanes. In the Anglo-Saxon Church in the days of Knut, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed are made the sum of necessary doctrine and practice; and the assembled Bishops at Florence in 1787 assented to the proposition that simple agreement in the *Credo* was sufficient to constitute men Catholics.

The first thing that will strike the most incurious reader, is that materials cannot exist in any great abundance in support of "our conception of a Church," if no mean term can be discovered between such extremes as the Church in England before the Conquest, under one particular Sovereign, and an assembly—not certainly of world-wide celebrity—at Florence, towards the end of last century. It will also be seen that we are left, with even less guidance than usual, to shift for ourselves in regard of both.

As to the Saxon Church, it is not very hard to discover, both the utterance to which our author refers, and the authorities upon whom he relies for its interpretation. In the Ecclesiastical Laws of King Canute,⁴ the 22nd Article enjoins that "every Christian man shall be instructed (*discat*) so as, at least, to be able to know the true faith; and shall

¹ *Ibid.* vii. 355.

² Romans i.

³ *Contemporary Review*, ut sup. p. 796.

⁴ Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. p. 304. (Edit. 1737-)

learn the *Pater noster* and the *Credo*; since by the one ought every Christian to invoke God, and by the other to manifest his belief." This undoubtedly appears a rather slight foundation whereon to erect any very extensive theory as to the faith of the nation at the time. If it was determined that no man, however illiterate, should be admitted to the sacraments unless he knew the Our Father and the Creed, does this necessarily prove that there were no points of faith beyond what in express terms these enunciate? One of the Articles of the Creed is, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," and it is precisely because such belief implicitly contains all things necessary, that without danger of mutilating the teachings of the Gospel even the most rude and unlettered of the people may be safely received into full communion. But certain authors argue, as Hickes,¹ Mrs. Elstob,² and especially Whelock,³ with whom Dean Farrar ranges himself, that because the Apostles' Creed makes no explicit mention of such points of doctrine as Purgatory, belief in these was not enjoined by the Church of the period. It is obvious to remark that the Creed says nothing about the Bible, nor of the right and duty of men to read it, and that, if we are to argue in such a fashion as this, it will not be easy for the Dean to defend that basis of faith for which he himself contends, which includes the Sermon on the Mount and "the two ancient Catholic Creeds of Christendom." It may, moreover, be asked, Wherefore are we to confine ourselves to this practical law concerning the *minimum* of positive instruction, if we wish to know what was the doctrine of the Saxon Church? It is not because we have no other means of information: but these others do not happen to square with the view which we are invited to adopt. One example must suffice. The Council of Clovesho, A.D. 800, thus prefaced its records:⁴ "Be it known to thy Paternity [*i.e.*, to the Pope] that as was formerly laid down by the holy Roman and Apostolic See (under the guidance of the most blessed Pope Gregory) so do we believe; and what we believe we will endeavour in all sincerity to perform." It is also worthy of remark, that King Canute, by whose authority and in whose name the ordinances of which we have been speaking were promulgated, had, two years previously, addressed to his faithful subjects a letter from Rome, which evidently implies a much wider range of belief, both

¹ *Letters to a Roman Priest*, c. iii.

² *Saxon Homily*, Preface.

³ *Ven. Bede Historia*, passim.

⁴ Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 162.

on his part and theirs, than is compatible with the explanation offered us of the scope and sufficiency of the *Credo*. "I make known to ye," he writes, "that I have recently gone to Rome, to pray for the forgiveness of my sins, and for the welfare of my kingdoms. . . . I humbly thank God Almighty that He has allowed me before I die to approach Peter and Paul, the blessed Apostles, and all the holy places within and without the city, and, according to my desire, to venerate them and offer up my prayers. And this I have done for this reason chiefly, because I have learnt from my instructors (*a sapientibus*) that St. Peter the Apostle has received from the Lord the mighty power of binding and of loosing, and that he keeps the key of the Kingdom of Heaven, and therefore have I thought it of great moment to seek in particular his patronage with God."

We may also refer to the treatment which this very question has received at the hands of Father Gasquet, O.S.B.¹ With this author the Dean is presumably unacquainted, since he writes elsewhere than in anonymous newspapers, but none the less is he recognized as an authority conspicuous both for knowledge and honesty. The learned Benedictine says:² "I must give one word of warning. When writers talk of people being taught their *Pater*, something very different is meant from the mere repetition of the words. A large number of systematic instructions during the middle ages were based upon the explanation of the Our Father. Any one who may care to pursue this subject cannot but be amazed at the ingenious way the petitions of the Lord's Prayer are made the pegs on which to hang a definite course of teaching on the whole of Christian doctrine." Again,³ he quotes a mediæval work which speaks of children being taught their Creed, "*id est*, their faith."

It can therefore scarcely be said that the first of the examples so very specially selected, serves the theory which it is adduced to support, to any great extent.

But what are we to say of "the assembled Bishops at Florence in 1787"? Here it is in truth more difficult to speak; for unless Dean Farrar have some special and esoteric source of information, it seems impossible to find any grain of

¹ *Religious Instruction in England during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Catholic Truth Society. Historical Papers, xvi.

² P. 20.

³ *Ibid.* note.

truth in his statement.¹ The "assembled Bishops," numbered eighteen, called together by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to countenance and approve the proceedings of the schismatical Synod of Pistoia, and the fifty-seven articles of his own devising which that obsequious assembly had adopted. Of the eighteen prelates thus summoned, *fifteen* refused to do anything of the kind, and consistently rejected every innovation of doctrine or discipline which appeared to contradict the practice of Rome: and they were consequently dismissed by the Duke with much ill-humour. Not very much therefore, as it seems, can be got out of this transaction. But, more than this; neither in the ducal articles, nor in those of the Synod of Pistoia condemned by Pius VI.,² is there to be found anything bearing even a superficial resemblance to the proposition which, as we are told, received the assent of the "assembled Bishops." On the contrary, the Grand Duke's fifty-fourth article, enumerating various desirable things, includes a compendious exposition, adapted to popular intelligence of "the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Sacraments, the Chief Mysteries of the Faith, the Commandments, and the Rites of the Church in the various Festivals of the year,"³ while the assembled prelates decided, and that by a unanimous vote, that the Roman Catechism should be translated and adopted for the instruction of the adults of their several dioceses.⁴

We may consider another interesting illustration of the familiar fact that the cheapest method of earning fame in certain quarters is for a Catholic to lay himself open to the suspicion of being unorthodox; when his merits, his learning, and his authority will at once become apparent. Speaking of the fundamental text, *Tu es Petrus*, the Dean delivers himself of this highly critical observation:⁵ "There are *four* interpretations of the meaning of *super hanc petram*, and out of some eighty-

¹ The *Acta* of this assembly are contained in five volumes of some seven hundred pages each: there is no Index, and the documents appended are printed in no order. It will therefore be understood that the operation of searching is attended with certain difficulties. Moreover, the author of the Latin version, who is rabidly anti-Roman, considering that one of the current abuses is the unadorned Latinity of ecclesiastical documents, involves himself in a web of twists and turns amid which it frequently requires very close attention to detect the meaning.

² See Denzinger, *Enchiridion* (1874), p. 275. For the Florentine proceedings see *Punti Ecclesiastici compilati e trasmessi, etc.* Florence, 1787; and *Acta Congregationis . . . Florentie, anno 1787*, by Schwarzel. Bamberg, 1790.

³ *Punti*, &c., p. 26.

⁴ *Acta*, &c., I, p. 334.

⁵ *Ut sup.* p. 797. The italics are his.

five Fathers, according to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Louis, *only seventeen* adopt the interpretation on which the Romish claim to supremacy is built, whereas sixty-eight, or more, follow the other explanations."

Here nebulousness of statement would seem to have attained its limit. We are not even vouchsafed the name of the American prelate, who is thus suddenly shot into the theological firmament as a star of the first magnitude, but airily referred in a note to that singularly dispassionate and conscientious writer, Professor Friedrich, the author of *Janus*. What, again, is to be understood by the dark phrase, "out of some eighty-five Fathers"? Eighty-five Fathers who did what? Surely it is not meant that there are no more to be found on "that roll of great names which begins with the disciples of the Apostles, and ends with St. Bernard, in the twelfth century."¹ And are we to understand that the various interpretations; so vaguely indicated, are mutually contradictory, so that the sixty-eight (or more) Fathers who adopted any of the others, by so doing rejected that "on which the Romish claim is built." As a matter of fact, we find that here are *five* interpretations, not four, and that although Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis, enumerates them,² he does so on the authority of another prelate, whom he does not name. How much is to be learnt from the Patristic statistics on which the Dean relies, may be gathered from the fact, that of the seventeen mentioned by him, *all* whose names are given adopt also one at least of the other interpretations; and several adopt them all. Indeed, that St. Augustine, for instance, who is amongst them, should have had but one explanation of a text, will be to some persons a totally novel idea. Moreover, several of the Fathers mentioned beyond these seventeen, being equally large-minded, it will be seen that a grave arithmetical difficulty is added to those already attaching to the computation by which the net result of "some eighty-five Fathers" is reached, and especially as to the item of "sixty-eight, or more."

But still more extraordinary is the system of reasoning upon which this sort of argument rests. That the interpretations which understand by the "rock" Peter's faith, which found expression in his words, "Thou art the Christ," or the faith of the Apostolic body of which he is the representative, or

¹ Blunt, *Theological Dictionary*.

² Concio P. R. Kenrick . . . in *Conc. Vaticano habenda at non habita*, p. 16. Naples, 1870.

Christ Himself upon whom that faith reposes ; or the Christian peoples who are by it united,—should be taken as doing aught but confirm and illustrate the “Romish claim,” is a strange phenomenon, and serves to show how those who are resolved to find something to say will contrive to do so in any circumstances.

It would be easy to go on, almost *ad infinitum*, for, as will easily be understood, from the summary given above, materials are supplied to us in plenty. But we must decline to expend more time upon so profitless a task. Dean Farrar indeed threatens terrible consequences to those who do not satisfy him in the way of proof. “The Pope,” he writes,¹ “assumes, without a syllable of demonstration, that the unity of the Church under himself and his successors is ‘divinely constituted.’ We look upon the assumption as no less without foundation than the claim to infallibility, which shocks our historic sense as one of the most astonishing of all hallucinations.” To shock the historic sense of such an authority is undoubtedly a terrible thing to do, for manifestly, from what we have seen, that sense is not easily shocked. But even at the risk of incurring such a penalty, and falling beneath the dignity of a good man’s waste-paper basket, we must venture to ask, what may be the difference between the historic sense which approves such utterances as have been considered, and historic nonsense : and whether it be not a rather remarkable hallucination to fancy that a man may write with profit upon a subject of which he does not possess the most rudimentary knowledge ?

It is indeed portentous that an author with any reputation to stake, should voluntarily come forward to make such an exhibition as we have witnessed ; and equally so that he should find no difficulty in obtaining for the purpose so conspicuous a platform, as is afforded by the columns of a magazine of good repute, which is understood to pride itself on the solid and scholarly character of its contributions. Neither does any one concerned appear to feel the slightest apprehension, lest the reputation of the writer or his organ should suffer aught in consequence. And no doubt such confidence is not misplaced. There is one topic, and one alone, which still, as of old, dispenses those who take it up from all necessity of observing the laws which are enforced in all other cases, and that is defamation of the Papacy and the Catholic Church ; that religion being considered “to bear on its very surface signs of folly and

¹ Ut sup. p. 796.

falsehood so distinct that a glance suffices to judge of it, and careful examination is preposterous, which is felt to be so simply bad, that it may be calumniated at hazard and at pleasure, it being nothing but absurdity to stand upon the accurate distribution of its guilt among its particular acts, or painfully to determine how far this or that story concerning it is literally true, or what has to be allowed in candour, or what is improbable, or what cuts two ways, or what is not proved, or what may be plausibly defended."¹ That, as a practical contribution to a weighty question, we should be gravely presented with "such a deal of skimble-skamble stuff," is but one proof more of the accepted axiom, that Catholic theologians and historians, with the whole rabble of their disciples, are so senseless and inane a race, as to be incapable of finding anything to urge on behalf of their belief which requires consideration, and that a serious scholar, such as the author of the *Life of Christ*, has but to stalk casually forth, in order to spread panic among so feeble a folk, and to demonstrate the futility of their unsubstantial utterances :

At Danaum proceres, Agamemnoniaequae phalanges,
 Ut videre virum, fulgentiaque arma per umbras,
 Ingenti trepidare metu ; pars vertere terga,
 Ceu quondam petiere rates ; pars tollere vocem
 Exiguam : inceptus clamor frustratur hiantes.

But we must on our side assure the Dean, that, so far as we are concerned, he need not expect a hearing till he shall be at the trouble of learning what "it is that we maintain, and likewise of finding something to say, which shall be, at least in some degree, pertinent to the issue between us. Moreover, if he thinks, by such an effusion as that which we have seen, to frighten away his co-religionists from inquiry as to what our doctrines really are, he seems to us to pay no greater compliment to their intelligence than does the farmer to that of the light-minded birds, whom he trusts to drive from his seed-land by setting up a scarecrow, depending for its efficiency upon a crownless hat and a wooden gun.

J. G.

¹ Newman, *Essay on Development*, p. 246. (Edit. 1878.)

*Old St. Peter's, Rome.*¹

I MUST ask you to consider yourselves personally conducted to the City of Rome about the year 1450. I cannot promise that you would have had all the comforts and luxuries, on the journey, that are now provided by Messrs. Cook or Gaze; in fact I have a strong suspicion that the expedition would not have been unattended by dangers. The monks of that noble abbey which gives its name to this district and archdiocese petitioned the Pope about this period to relieve them from the condition which their venerated founder had imposed upon them, of sending every Abbot upon his election, *ad limina Apostolorum*, to receive investiture at the hands of the Pope himself, and although the King seconded their request, they only obtained a conditional release from the obligation, upon the ground that the journey was long and dangerous.

If we had been in the City of Rome about the year 1450, upon approaching the Vatican Basilica, a very different spectacle would have presented itself to the noble architectural prospect which opens up to our view at the present day. We should not have seen, for instance, Bernini's stately colonnade spreading out its gigantic arms as if to embrace and welcome all those who approach the Tomb of the Prince of the Apostles; the two noble fountains with their spray casting rainbows of hope all about them; and the great obelisk, one of the spoils of overthrown Paganism, we should have looked for in vain. Michael Angelo's magnificent dome would have been even less visible than it is at present, for, although there would have been no clumsily designed front to conceal one of the noblest works of man, yet neither dome nor front were then erected. The stately Loggia of the Vatican rising tier above tier to the right hand would likewise have been sought in vain. If we had stood upon the spot now occupied by the obelisk called "*La Giulia*," in the fifteenth century, immediately before us, we should have

¹ A Paper read before the Historical Research Society, June 10, 1895.

found an immense flight of marble steps, some two hundred feet wide, and so lofty as to be divided into five different tiers by landings. At the foot of these were statues of St. Peter and St. Paul. On the summit of this vast flight was a great platform, which extended in front of a range of very picturesque though somewhat irregular structures. In the centre was a building called the Propylæum, pierced by three grand doorways, between which were massive Corinthian columns supporting deeply-recessed arched canopies. These were the work of the Emperor Constantine, and they formed the entrance to the fore-court, or Quadriporticus, of his church; the upper portion of the Propylæum had been rebuilt during the thirteenth century in the Gothic style then prevalent, with large, pointed, traceried windows, and the walls covered with mosaic. The famous "Navicella" of Giotto was placed over the centre doorway of this Propylæum. To the right of the Propylæum was a kind of balcony supported upon an arcade of four arches; it was from this balcony that the Popes gave their Benediction. I fancy that this structure was erected during the Pontificate of Nicholas V. or Calixtus III., that is to say, sometime between 1447 and 1458; it was very much altered in the Pontificate of Alexander VI. and converted into a kind of open Loggia. Immediately behind this building stood a lofty Gothic tower called the "Turrus Cymbalaria." It rose four stories above the roof and was crowned by a pyramidal spire, and each story was lit by eight very handsome Gothic windows. It is said by a writer of the name of Albrinus that this tower was erected in 1303, but was destroyed by lightning in 1333, and not restored until 1353, but this statement, although repeated by Mignanti, like many others concerning the old Basilica, is exceedingly improbable; and it is doubtful whether any important works were carried out in connection with St. Peter's between the years 1302 and 1378, and my belief is that this tower was erected during either the Pontificate of Nicholas IV. or Boniface VIII. Handsome as it undoubtedly was, Italian writers have surely exaggerated its merits, when we find Blondus affirming that "it was the most beautiful tower in the whole world;" and Angelo Rocca stating that it was "the loftiest tower in the world," for it was certainly neither one nor the other. The early views of St. Peter's, that, for instance, in the Nuremberg Chronicle, the one published by Rossi in his *Mediæval Rome*, those by Gulio Bellini, dated

1567, by Marius Katarus, 1575, and by Antonio Lefrario, 1577, all show it crowned by a spire ; but the later views reproduced by Fontana, Ciampini, and Bonani, show it crowned by a dome. So some alteration must have taken place late in the sixteenth century.

To the right of this tower rose the various buildings of the Vatican, not as we now see it a stately Renaissance palace, but a regular Gothic castle, commenced by Innocent III. in 1200, and continued by various Pontiffs down to John XXIII., who completed it by the erection of a great gallery uniting it with the Castle of St. Angelo ; it had lofty towers, embattled and machicolated walls. One of the architects employed was the celebrated Arnolpho di Lapo, who built the earlier portions of the Cathedral at Florence, and was the most eminent Gothic architect that Italy ever produced.

To the left of the Propylæum, and at the angle of the range of buildings forming the external or eastern front of the Quadriporticus, was a large quadrangular structure, the upper portion of which was adorned with open arcades. Ciampini calls this the Church of St. Apollinaris, but Bonani, with far greater probability, describes it as the Hospitium for Pilgrims, erected by Leo III. The arcades may have dated from his Pontificate (795 to 816), but the lower portion had been altered in the fifteenth century. Now, if we had turned round the corner by the side of this building, we should have found on our right hand a lofty embattled wall, and on our left an ancient church erected by the Emperor Charlemagne and dedicated to St. Salvator de Ossibus. Its singular dedication arose from the fact that it was the church of the Great Campo Santo of St. Peter's, which extended the whole length of the street. Over the wall, on the opposite side to the church, we might perhaps have caught a glimpse of the external arcades of the south side of Constantine's Quadriporticus. At the end of this great wall was a porch and staircase, which formed the entrance for the Popes to St. Peter's when they were in residence at the Lateran. From this porch a great staircase ascended which led to a chapel called the Secretarium, in which the Popes vested, though some writers have asserted that they vested "on the staircase," which is certainly not very probable. The Secretarium was a small church consisting of a nave and aisles, and was, I think, one of the group of seven churches which formerly surrounded St. Peter's.

Passing along the street we should have seen before us the great extended flank or south side of Constantine's church. It was a vast brick building, externally very plain, covered with great shelving tile roofs. The only ornament which would have attracted our attention would have been the great row of Gothic traceried windows, giving light to the clerestory of the nave. The somewhat similar series of windows, which lighted the aisles, would from this point of view have been invisible owing to the projecting chapels. In the centre of the street stood the great Egyptian obelisk, which was removed to its present position in front of the modern church by Fontana, who wrote a work describing the way in which this operation was carried out, in which he gives us a good deal of information respecting the old Basilica. A singular story is told about the removal of this obelisk. It was ordered to be carried out in profound silence, but the ropes used began to show signs of giving way owing to the tension, when a sailor in the crowd shouted, "Why don't you wet the ropes, you lubbers?" he was not only pardoned, but rewarded for the valuable advice.

Immediately beyond the obelisk, called by old writers, La Giulia, a great round chapel projected out into the streets, which was linked to an exactly similar chapel by a long narrow building. These two chapels have given rise to a considerable amount of debate and conjecture. They were dedicated respectively to Santa Maria de Febribus, and St. Petronilla. Fontana thinks that they were two ancient temples dedicated to Venus and Mars, which together with the obelisk stood upon the *spina* of the old circus. Ciampini, however, in his work, *De Sacris Edificiis a Constantino Magno Constructus*, says that the one dedicated to St. Petronilla was erected by Pope Honorius I. whose Pontificate extended from 625 to 640. It would be impossible here to enter into this controversy, but we cannot see why a Pope of the seventh century should have erected a church in imitation of a pagan temple. The long narrow chapel which linked these two rotundas together was the burial-place and contained the shrine of St. John Chrysostom.

The transepts, or rather transverse nave, to speak more correctly, was in design similar to the great nave, though it was less wide and had no aisles. The great apse of the Basilica was considerably lower than the transepts and was lit by five large Gothic windows with three lights in each. Adjoining the

apse was the Lady Chapel of St. Peter's, erected by a Roman citizen named Probus and his wife Proba.

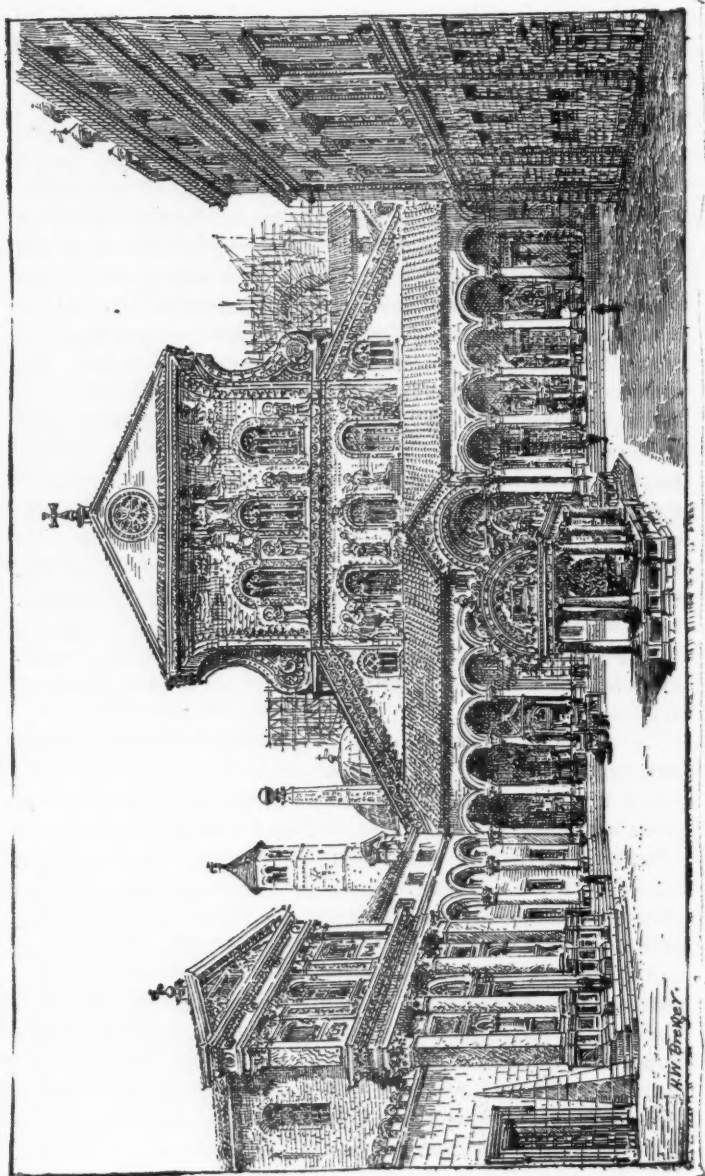
We must now return to the east front of the Quadriporticus, and entering through the Propylæum we should have found ourselves in a large courtyard, which was called Paradisus. Surrounding it on all sides were beautiful arcaded cloisters, supported upon Corinthian columns composed of Egyptian and Nubian marbles. The spandrils and arches were all aglow with mosaic pictures on gold backgrounds, and the courtyard itself was paved with square and circular slabs of marble separated by intersecting borders of small *tesserae*. There was one great peculiarity about this Quadriporticus which I have not been able to find in any other Roman Basilica. It is that on the north and south sides the outer walls as well as the inner were pierced with arcades, but of course the east and west sides were occupied by the great doorways giving access to the church and the Quadriporticus. This magnificent structure was erected by Constantine, but had been restored in later times. I am inclined to think that the mosaic decorations dated from the thirteenth century, probably during the Pontificates of Innocent III. and Honorius III., that is to say, between the years 1198 and 1227. In the centre of the Paradisus was placed the great carved pine-cone which originally formed the finial of the mausoleum of Hadrian. It was here preserved beneath a delicate *baldacchino* dating from the thirteenth century, and between it and the entrance to the church stood a brass fountain called "Cantharus," composed of a pine-cone the scales of which squirted water into a series of large marble basins in which the pilgrims visiting St. Peter's used to wash their faces, hands, and feet. All this forecourt of old St. Peter's was undoubtedly constructed in imitation of Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem, and the Roman writers point out that the number of columns and dimensions corresponded with the account of that building given in the Books of Kings and Paralipomenon. Rising over the western arcade of the Quadriporticus we should have seen the great eastern front of the church, which was completely covered with mosaics representing our Lord in glory, SS. Peter and Paul, the four Evangelists, various other saints, and a very little figure of Pope Gregory IX. kneeling at the feet of St. Peter, from which it may be taken for granted that this work was executed during his Pontificate. This east end of the Basilica was pierced by nine Gothic windows, eight

of which were similar to those which we have previously noticed in the clerestory of the nave, but that in the gable was a wheel-window. Grimaldi, in his history of St. Peter's, and other writers following him, have stated that these windows were erected *more Gaminico* and in the fourteenth century. I believe both statements to be incorrect, and a very casual glance at the history of the fourteenth century, so far as it affects the city of Rome, will show that so vast a work as the Gothicizing and complete redecoration of St. Peter's could not possibly have taken place during the fourteenth century; in fact, so far as the local Roman Church was concerned, that century was simply a succession of the most terrible disasters and trials. It certainly commenced in glory when one of the greatest Popes that ever lived, Boniface VIII., in the year 1300, proclaimed the Jubilee from the front of St. Peter's. The Church was enjoying tranquillity, and the Holy See complete liberty. Europe was at peace, and that noble but aged Pontiff (he was over eighty years of age) might reasonably have looked forward to ending his days and closing his Pontificate in tranquillity. God, however, willed it otherwise, for in the very next year, 1301, commenced the troubles with Philip le Bel.

St. Augustine says: "Think not that the wicked are placed in the world for nothing, for one of their uses is to exercise the good;" and thus we may suppose that Philip le Bel was placed in the world for the purpose of adding to the glory of Pope Boniface VIII. by inflicting upon him tortures both mental and physical, such as have been borne by no Pontiff since the times of the pagan persecutions! The French troops and the Italian allies of Philip le Bel invaded the Pontifical State. The Pope imagining that, as Catholics, they would not dare to proceed to personal violence, met them in his sacred vestments. The Colonna, however, one of Philip le Bel's allies, rendered his name for ever infamous by striking the Pope in the face with his mailed fist. What happened after this is uncertain, but three days afterwards the French and their allies were driven away and the Pope released from imprisonment. He was led forth still clothed in his vestments, which together with his face were stained with the blood which had flowed from the wound given him by the Colonna, and he had just sufficient strength left to ask for bread and water, having tasted no food for three days. Such terrible trials as these were too much for even a saint, who was eighty-two years of age, and Boniface died

very shortly after, in the year 1303, and was succeeded by Benedict XI. One would have thought that the malice of Philip le Bel and his partisans would have been satisfied, but no! they continued an atrocious attempt, which he had begun some years before, to have Boniface VIII. proclaimed a heretic by a packed Council! The gentle Benedict XI. was no match for the villainy and ruffianism which broke out all over Italy, stirred up by Philip le Bel, and he died at Perugia, where he had gone to attempt the reconciliation and mitigation of the bloodthirsty quarrels which had broken out among the Italian aristocracy, and which have been so admirably depicted by Shakespeare in *Romeo and Juliet*. It has been supposed by some writers that Benedict XI. died from the effects of poison. He was succeeded by Clement V. in 1305. As Clement V. was a Frenchman, it was thought probable that peace might be brought about with Philip le Bel. Clement went to Poitiers for that purpose. But, finding his liberty, if not his life, was in danger from the treachery of Philip, he escaped to Avignon, which was a kind of independent State. Here the Popes continued to reside for over seventy years, until the Pontificate of Urban VI., after which followed the lamentable Schism of the West, which lasted down to the Pontificate of Martin V., 1417—1431. During the absence of the Popes Rome became a veritable pandemonium, and was for the most part in a state of revolution and chaos.

Now I think it will be quite evident from this that no very important work was likely to have been carried out at St. Peter's during the fourteenth century, and we may dismiss the assertion of Grimaldi and those of Ciampini and Bonani, for it is not difficult to arrive at the conclusion that the whole of the Gothic work was executed during the thirteenth century. The ascertained date of the Navicella, by Giotto and Cavallini, 1298, would take us to the reign of Boniface VIII. It is known for certain that Giotto was engaged upon the decorations of the interior, and it is extremely unlikely that the new windows would have been constructed *after* the decorations, especially if, as Ciampini tells us, the decorations were for the most part "painted" and not in mosaic. A writer of the name of Ponvinus, states that the mosaics of the apse were restored by Innocent III. at the commencement of the thirteenth century. This Pope also commenced the rebuilding of the Vatican in 1255.



Nicholas III. called to Rome the eminent architect Arnolfo di Lapo, who, as I have previously stated, executed works at the Vatican. Then we have the fact, that the mosaics in front of the church were the work of Gregory IX., 1227 to 1241, and I think this is quite enough to establish the fact that this great work was carried out during the thirteenth century. Nearly every other church or cathedral in Christendom was being either rebuilt or altered during that period of universal architectural activity. Westminster Abbey was being rebuilt, and one of the abbots there, who had to go to Rome, brought over Italian workers in mosaic, who laid down the beautiful floor of the sanctuary and built the shrine of St. Edward, which will give us a good idea of the style of ornamentation adopted at St. Peter's, Rome. It is a singular fact that during the thirteenth century, Rome produced the only two architects of any eminence born in the city. They were the two Cosimati, who have given their names to the beautiful style of decoration in which they so greatly excelled. A framework of marble inlaid with delicate patterns in glass mosaic, is called "Cosimati work," not because they invented that style of decoration, but because they perfected it.

Beneath the shadow of the western arcade of the Quadriporticus, were five great doorways which led into the church: three into the nave, one into the south aisle, and one into the north aisle. The latter was blocked up and only opened when the Pope entered the church to celebrate the Jubilee.

The walls of the Quadriporticus, between these doorways, were covered with monuments of Popes, emperors, kings, &c. The central doorway was called *Porta Argentea*, that to the left of it, *Porta Ravenniana*. The centre or principal doorway obtained its name from the fact that Honorius I. covered it with plaques of silver. Petrus Mallius, in his history of St. Peter's, states that Venerable Bede was buried under the step of this doorway, and the pilgrims of old refused to enter by this doorway for fear of treading on his grave. Mallius adds: "We are not allowed to enter by this doorway." (I think Mallius lived in the twelfth century.) The tradition which he mentions is confirmed by other writers. Now this tradition is very remarkable, and should be inquired into. This Bede could not possibly have been our Venerable Bede, as we know for certain, and the most reliable Roman writers admit that

he was buried in the Galilee of Durham Cathedral. This Beda or Bede who was buried among the Popes at St. Peter's was, no doubt, a man of saintly life, and apparently an Englishman. In all probability he was some holy monk who had taken the name of Bede, out of reverence for that great Confessor, who died at Rome, and after a time his identity became confused and mixed up with that of the Saint whose name he had taken. He may possibly have been a pupil of Venerable Bede. The Ravenna door was so called because the pilgrims from that city were accustomed to enter by it.

Entering through the eastern doors of the church, the scene which presented itself, though less architecturally magnificent than that offered by the present St. Peter's, was more solemnly impressive and interesting. The vast nave of the Cathedral stretched out before the beholders. Forty-four columns of porphyry with Corinthian capitals of Parian marble, supported the great marble entablature with its richly carved cornice and friezes inlaid with mosaics. Over this was a narrow gallery. The lofty walls were adorned with two rows, one above the other, of magnificent pictures by Giotto, Cavallini, and other eminent painters. Above these again, was the great Gothic clerestory, having its traceried windows filled with stained glass. The roof was constructed of vast beams of timber, which to our northern notions was an inappropriate covering to such splendidly decorated walls. Probably, however, these beams were painted with arabesques and enriched with gilding. The aisles were double, the inner pair roofed like the nave, and the outer vaulted with brick or stone; between the columns were chapels, tombs, costly altars, and innumerable works of art of every description. The pavement was composed of circular and square slabs of marble enclosed within delicate borders of mosaic work. A more striking scene could scarcely have been imagined than was presented by this grand interior. Architectural purists would have been shocked at the strange mixture of styles. Speaking broadly, the whole of the lower portion, the columns, entablature, &c., were Classical, as they were formed of portions of the colonnades of the great circus of Nero, either left in *situ*, or very slightly removed from their original position by Constantine. The whole of the upper portion was Gothic thirteenth century work. Yet no doubt the two things harmonized well enough, just as in our own Cathedrals we find rich Gothic clerestories and vaultings, adapted admirably

to stern Norman or Romanesque arcades. Norwich Cathedral is a fine example.

At the west end of the nave was a great arch leading into the transept or "transverse nave," supported upon pilasters, not on columns as represented by Mignanti. All the old writers use the word "parastates," which means square piers or pilasters in contradistinction to columns. Across this arch was the rood-beam, like a bridge, upon which stood the great crucifix and the chests and urns, wherein were preserved the sponges with which the blood of the martyrs was collected in times of persecution.

Against the pilaster on the left hand was the choir altar of the church, dedicated to our Blessed Lady under the title of Sta. Maria Deipara. It was constructed of Parian and other precious marbles, and surmounted by a *baldacchino* and shrine, within which were contained the bones of St. Stephen and the lance of Longinus; the whole was surrounded with costly screens of metal, and in front of this altar were the choir stalls, &c., enclosed, as was usual in Rome, by a low wall of marble. I am, however, inclined to think, that in earlier times the choir was in the centre, as at St. Clemente, because the ambo and Paschal candlestick would appear to be in no way connected with this choir at the side, and must have formed a part of the furniture of a choir arranged in the usual Basilica-fashion. On the opposite side of the church was the great organ and organ-loft, with the celebrated statue of St. Peter beneath it, and a curious column called Vitineum rather more to the west. This column probably originally bore on its summit a statue of Bacchus, but the heathen idol had been destroyed, and its place occupied by a Calvary cross. Close to it was the grave of the British Prince, Cadwallada. A vast screen or gallery separated the sanctuary from the rest of the church. It was supported upon twelve twisted columns of marble, which some authorities tell us were brought from the Temple at Jerusalem, but others say they came from the temple of Diana at Ephesus. They are almost the only portions of the old Basilica which exist, and are used to support the canopies above the balconies of the dome, and they were copied by Bernini in his *baldacchino*. Upon the great choir-screen stood large marble statues of our Lord and the twelve Apostles, and in front of it were two altars surmounted by shrines and *baldacchinos*. They were dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, and St. Sylvester. Between

these were the steps leading down to the confessional of St. Peter's, which, Mignanti says, was adorned with a magnificence which was unparalleled. Against the right-hand pilaster of the great arch, was a very costly and beautiful altar, dedicated to St. Pastor. Suspended from the great arch below the rood-beam were the three great lampadaria, the centre in the form of a double cross, and the other two in that of two great keys. Lampadaria of a similar description are still to be seen at St. Mark's, Venice, and one has recently been placed in the Russo-Greek church in the Moscow road. I hope some day to see them revived in our Catholic churches, as the effect of these hundreds of little oil lamps suspended on a frame, is singularly beautiful. I have seen the same tried with gas, but alas, "mock turtle" is no more real turtle in ecclesiastical art than it is in gastronomy.

The sanctuary of St. Peter's within the great choir, or rood-screen, was extremely magnificent. An arch called *Arca Triumphalis* (the triumphal arch) opened into it from the transverse nave, adorned with mosaic representations of our Lord and the twelve Apostles. The sanctuary was lower than the nave, and had its floor considerably above that of the nave. Its ceiling consisted of a half-dome which was adorned with a vast picture, executed in mosaic upon gold backgrounds, by the celebrated thirteenth century painter, Giotto. Judging from a drawing of this work which still exists, it was a most exquisite composition. It represented the Heavenly Jerusalem: in the centre was our Lord in glory enthroned, with St. Peter and St. Paul on either hand, standing beneath palm-trees; from the ground gush out four streams of water, inscribed Pison, Gehon, Tigris, and Euphrates. Lower down in the composition is represented an altar surrounded by a large jewelled cross, in front of which stands a lamb, and from the altar flow out four streams of blood. An Emperor and a Pope stand on either side of the altar. Now, in the drawing the Pope is inscribed "Innocentius III." and the Emperor "*Ecclesia Romana*." Here then we are landed in one of those difficulties, as to date, which so frequently puzzle us in the history of old St. Peter's. If the Pope represented is Innocent III., can the work be by Giotto? Innocent died in 1216, and Giotto was not born till 1276! Of course it is possible that it may have been a monumental work. Then comes the question, Who is the Emperor thus represented? It is usually stated to be Otho IV. If so, that Emperor was

unworthy to be placed in such a position, as he was a kind of mediæval Victor Emmanuel. He seized the lands which our generous English Queen, the Empress Matilda, had given to the Holy See. That noble-minded lady was profuse in her support of what a learned authority of our day has called "The Italian Mission." The liberality of our English Queens to the Church in the middle ages is one of the brightest features in our history. They must have expended all their "pin-money" on church-building and other acts of charity and piety. Let us trust that their generosity may be weighed in the balance against the evil done by the sons and husbands of some. To return to this picture. On either side are five animals—probably lambs. Those on the left are coming out of a city inscribed Hierusalem, and five out of a city inscribed Betleem, and this completes the composition. Now the representation of animals in such a connection is remarkable, and was very common in England in the middle ages. I have several times come across a very quaint introduction of the animals proclaiming the Birth of our Lord. We first see a cock crowing, and out of his mouth is a scroll inscribed, "Christus natus est." Then comes a cow which says, "Ubi, Ubi;" and last of all a lamb with the word "Bet-le-em." I read in a county history that this is an example of the "gross superstition of our Popish ancestors," but if so, what is the meaning of the words, "Beasts and all cattle; serpents and feathered fowls" (praise ye the Lord), and I question whether there is not more real wisdom in these quaint mediæval suggestions, than in all the "higher criticism" by the men of our day. Have they found true wisdom, these puffed-up individuals? Let us apply the tests given in Scripture. Speaking of Wisdom, they say: "She is an infinite treasure to men, which they that use become the friends of God, being commended for the gift of discipline." Are these so-called "higher critics" doing the work of the friends of God, and are they commended for the gift of discipline by any one?

But to return to St. Peter's.

The walls of the sanctuary at St. Peter's were also covered with mosaics, and round the base of the apse were ranged the great marble benches for the Cardinals, and in the centre, facing the high altar, the throne of the Pope. The high altar was in the middle of the sanctuary, with its front to the Pope and its back to the laity. Between the Papal throne and the high

altar was a kind of rood-screen, consisting of a beam supported upon columns bearing a great silver cross which was presented to the church by Constantine. So that old St. Peter's may be said to have possessed *three* rood-screens. People who cannot attend Mass unless they can *see* the altar would indeed have been in a bad way at old St. Peter's, because not only was the vast choir-screen interposed between the altar and the laity, but the altar had a costly reredos of gold which turned its back upon them. All the side-altars, too, appear to have been surrounded by screens.

Above the high altar was the *baldacchino* of silver, supported upon marble columns; and cherubim and other angels suspended by silver chains hung down from its ceiling. Great shrines of gold, adorned with gems of priceless value, were placed upon the reredos.

Two of the most interesting monuments were the shrines of St. John Chrysostom, which stood in the centre of the passage uniting the two round chapels, and that of St. Gregory the Great, which was in a chapel to the right of the great front of the Basilica, having close to it a church or chapel called Jerusalem. Now I call attention to these two last-named chapels because attached to old St. Paul's Cathedral, London, was a church dedicated to St. Gregory in an exactly similar position, and at Westminster Abbey the Jerusalem Chamber occupies an exactly analogous position to the Jerusalem chapel at old St. Peter's. If these are mere coincidences, they are most remarkable ones. But when we come to remember the close connection between Westminster Abbey and Rome, and bear in mind the fact that Abbot Ware, at the very time that the most important works were being carried out at St. Peter's, brought over Roman workmen to lay down the pavement of the sanctuary, which still exists at Westminster, we shall be convinced that they were not mere coincidences. The proportions of old St. Peter's were more like those of a Gothic church than an ordinary Basilica church. For instance, when we compare it with St. Paul's, Rome, St. Mary Major, or St. John Lateran, we shall find that, whereas the height of the naves of those buildings was nearly the same as the width, the height of St. Peter's was nearly double the width.

At the commencement of this paper I asked you to consider St. Peter's in the year 1450, because shortly after that period some accident took place, which, though not immediately, yet

ultimately led to the destruction of the ancient Basilica, and its being replaced by the present magnificent church.

What the precise accident was which happened to old St. Peter's in 1456 I have been unable to discover. Either the roof of the apse must have fallen in, or some portion of the great transept must have collapsed, for when Nicholas V. called in the eminent architects, Bernardino Rosollini and Leon Battista Alberti, they at once pulled down the apse (or tribune of the transept), and there are several views extant showing St. Peter's in this condition. Alberti and Rosollini, however, certainly rebuilt the apse something on the lines of the ancient one, but without the Gothic windows. This we know from its being represented upon a medal struck in the year 1470, during the Pontificate of Paul II., and inscribed over it: "*Tribuna St. Petri,*" beneath "*Roma,*" and round the rim, "*Anno Christi MCCCCLXX. Has Ædes Condidit.*"

When the Popes came again to reside at Rome, they found everything in a state of confusion and ruin. They had to patch up the churches as they best could, but the intrigues of the French, which had wrought so much mischief, were not yet at an end, and the establishment of the Antipope at Avignon was one of the most disastrous trials through which the Church had ever passed. This lasted down to the time of Nicholas V., who was elected in 1447, and who was probably the first Pope since Boniface VIII. that was in a position to turn his mind to church-building. As the Roman churches had been neglected for nearly one hundred and fifty years, no wonder they were in a ruinous condition.

The works executed by Rosollini and Alberti were, however, not allowed to remain for long, for when Julius II. called in Bramante in 1503, it was determined to pull down what had already been constructed and commence a new church upon a scale so gigantic that it would have been even larger than the present building!

Bramante was a mighty genius, and one of the two grand ideas which make modern St. Peter's a noble building is due to him. It was that of supporting a dome upon four triumphal arches, a nobler design perhaps was never conceived. The other grand idea in St. Peter's was Michael Angelo's, that of rearing the dome, which was to be supported by Bramante's triumphal arches, upon a vast round tower, or drum (as it is called).

Perhaps it may be advanced in defence of the later archi-

fects at St. Peter's that they were insufficiently supplied with money to carry on Bramante and Michael Angelo's noble ideas. The church cost about ten millions (English money), but it would have required twenty to carry out the work properly. It would undoubtedly have been far better to have taken the advice of Baldasare Peruzzi and to have omitted Bramante's long nave, reducing the church to a Greek cross, which might have been properly completed for some ten or twelve millions (a trifle more or less). I am told that Italian churches are so cheap! I should imagine they are at times, as they proclaim the fact so unmistakably, but it is certainly wrong to suppose that Renaissance churches, if properly carried out, are cheaper than Gothic.

There would have been another great advantage in following Baldasare Peruzzi's plan : the whole of the Quadriporticus, and nearly half of the ancient Basilica, might have been saved. Up to the time of Paul V., 1605, all the ancient altars, shrines, monuments, &c., had been carefully preserved ; those that were in the transept being rebuilt in the nave.

It is most unfortunate that Maderno's idea for the completion of St. Peter's was carried out instead of that of Baldasare Peruzzi, for even supposing Maderno had achieved a triumphant architectural success, at what a cost was it done! Every artistic link which bound St. Peter's to the past was severed, and nothing was left to carry back the mind to an earlier date than the sixteenth century. Gone were the recollections of Constantine, of Leo I., of St. Gregory the Great, of Charlemagne, of Boniface VIII., everything which recorded the triumphs of the Church during the early times and the middle ages, all that great chain of events illustrated by altars, shrines, monuments, mosaics, sculptures, and architecture. Simply a huge gap was created between the time of St. Peter and that of Julius II. A chain of visible links which bound us to the past was broken and destroyed, a golden thread which, passing over the graves of saints, Popes, holy men, and great Emperors, carried us back to Christ's first Vicar severed, and all for what? A great architectural failure, a gigantic blunder, a nave which is out of proportion to the rest of the edifice, and a huge *façade* which, with its heavy attic and clumsy balustrade, conceals the greatest architectural glory of the universe! Of course it must be borne in mind that in the seventeenth century there was very little consideration for antiquity, unless such antiquity was

classical, and this was the case all over the world. In the Deanery at Westminster, there is a plan by the architect, Hawkesmoor, for converting Westminster Abbey into a classical building, rounding the tops of the windows, knocking out the tracery, and facing the buttresses with Doric pilasters. So, that they should not have valued the architecture of the old Basilica of St. Peter's was simply in keeping with the ideas of the age, and people must not be blamed for being influenced by what the Germans call the *zeitgeist*. But if Baldasare Peruzzi's plan had been followed, we should have had a magnificent modern church, though smaller than the present, far nobler in proportion, and infinitely more striking, because Bramante's triumphal arches, and Michael Angelo's majestic dome, would have had it all their own way, both internally and externally, and, everything else being subservient to this grand idea, the building would have possessed what it now lacks, namely, unity. Then the portion of the old nave of Constantine's church would have been spared, which, together with the Quadriporticus, would have formed the most glorious museum of sacred art in the whole world.

That this was intended at one time is certain, because a new west end was added to the old St. Peter's. However, as the saying is, "It is of little use grieving over spilt milk." The old historical Basilica has passed away, and is replaced by one which, though less interesting, is more glorious; so noble, that we can afford to overlook its defects, and rejoice in its magnificence. When we gaze up into that stupendous dome, enclosing, as no other building in the world does, a perfect atmosphere of its own, and read the words inscribed upon its mighty frieze, all idea of criticism leaves the mind, and falling upon our knees before the grave of the Prince of the Apostles, we rejoice in our hearts over the fulfilment of that Divine promise, *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc Petram edificabo ecclesiam meam*.

Although old St. Peter's has disappeared, it may perhaps reappear in a modified form, not in the city of Rome, or on the banks of the Tiber, but in a vaster city, and on the banks of a still grander river. As the Emperor Constantine, an Englishman, caused the old Basilica to be constructed, so will an Englishman project the new Basilica, and when those who will be engaged upon this great work are interrogated as to why it has been undertaken, they shall return the same answer as that which was given by the followers of Esdras and Zorobabel who

were building the second Temple of Jerusalem, and which is recorded in a letter to King Darius contained in the First Book of Esdras :

"Unto Darius the King, all peace. Be it known unto the King that we went into the province of Judea, to the house of the great God, which is builded with great stones, and timber is laid in the walls, and the work goeth fast on, and prospereth in their hands. Then asked we those elders, and said unto them thus : Who commanded you to build this house, and to set up these walls? . . . And thus they returned us answer, saying : We are the servants of the God of Heaven and earth, and we are building a temple that was built these many years ago, which a great King over Israel builded and set up."

H. W. BREWER.

*Edward A. Freeman.*¹

A MEMBER of the present House of Commons has been called the "genial ruffian," and the name would suit even better the subject of this memoir. Edward Augustus Freeman was loved by many friends, and we see here how well he deserved their love; to them he was tender, affectionate, and playful, with a somewhat elephantine playfulness. He said he was shy, but shyness veiled itself under an abrupt brutality of manner; he meant to be courteous, except to a fool, but then he unfortunately counted as fools most of those who did not know something of, and were not interested in, his special subjects; he once wrote, "I have always thought that the hardest precept—or rather implied precept—in the New Testament, is that which bids us to suffer fools gladly." His rudeness was startling; he loved his fellow-creatures, but with some exceptions, and towards these exceptions he used ferocious expressions; though he would have shrunk from the practices his words implied. "Would to God, my dear G——," he wrote during the talk about Bulgarian atrocities, "would to God that I were wading up to my knees in the blood of the Turk."

Nor is the extraordinary correspondence with Mr. Armitage, R.A., forgotten. Mr. Armitage, on the advice of Mr. Tom Taylor, asked Mr. Freeman's opinion on a point of Saxon archæology. The reply was insolent to the last degree, ending with the following sentences: "Mr. Freeman can only say that, at such a time as this (October 12, 1876), he really cannot be expected to trouble himself about pictures, or other matters of no importance, either to himself or the cause of south-east freedom. If Mr. Armitage wish to study old English history, there are plenty of books open to him, Mr. Freeman's among others, without expecting history to be written over again simply for him. Mr. Freeman really knows nothing about

¹ *The Life and Letters of Edward A. Freeman, D.C.L., LL.D.* By W. R. W. Stephens, B.D., Dean of Winchester. London, 1895.

Tom Taylor and other literary friends. A recommendation from Mr. Gladstone or Professor Stubbs might have some meaning." It is really necessary to quote such things as these because, although the Dean of Winchester has done his best to be fair, he makes Freeman often roar as gently as any sucking dove, when the real sounds were given with the full force of the lungs of Bottom.

The account of this inconsistent person, who yet must always be numbered amongst the chief literary men of the second half of this century, is extremely interesting. It deserves notice in our pages because it is, in a degree, a complement to the Lives of Pusey, Church, and Stanley, recently there reviewed; it is the life of a layman who came under the sway of the High Church movement, in that strange time of transition when Newman had created the Anglican Church as it now exists, and found his creation as deadly, if not so horrible to look upon, as the being which Frankenstein had made. He escaped from it, happily, to his true mother, after whose semblance he had striven to frame it.

To the life of the more serious undergraduates in the forties, those who lived it must always look back with pleasure. The time was one in which the revival of earnestness in religion had not always taken the High Church form, but had produced Stanley and Clough as well as Newman and Pusey; there was in almost every college, a knot of earnest young men, who strove to live morally and religiously in the best way they knew, who read hard, not always in the exact course laid down by the University, who studied art, especially in the forms to which the Church movement had called attention, architecture and music; these sought after, in Clough's phrase, "simpler living and higher thinking." One such set existed among the junior fellows and the scholars of Trinity, and those they drew within their circle; it is to some of us a delight to remember the men and their conversation.

Basil Jones, now Bishop of David's; H. J. Coleridge, afterwards of the Society of Jesus; W. G. Tupper, afterwards Warden of the House of Charity; W. B. Marriott, in later years Assistant Master at Eton; George Cox, so well known in after-days as Bishop Colenso's chaplain and biographer; Isaac Gregory Smith, now Vicar of Great Malvern; and James Patterson, are those whose names rise most clearly to memory, though others are also given by Dean Stephens. The last,

now Bishop of Emmaus, and H. J. Coleridge were the only ones who took the step of joining the Church, which then seemed likely to be the goal of all. One of the set, the Rev. F. Meyrick, wrote in after-years :

Religion was recognized by all as having a right to the dominant control over our acts, words, and thoughts. Never once during my undergraduate career, did I hear an oath from one of the Trinity set ; never once did I hear a word uttered or a subject discussed, which might not have been spoken or discussed in a lady's drawing-room. Never once did I see one of the set worse for wine, never once did I know one of them commit any of those transgressions of the rules of morality or of college discipline which are young men's temptations.

This is true testimony, and *Loss and Gain* may be taken as another fair picture of the best life at Oxford. If in these coming days more Catholics resort to Oxford, they will find the traces of many such sets still existing, into which, with their natural gifts and beauties, they may introduce their own supernatural graces, and will not be harmed by the contact.

What is said of the practices of this band of friends is true of many other such sets in various Colleges. "They all attended College chapel twice daily, at 7.30 in the morning and at 5 in the evening. During the season of Lent some were in the habit of breakfasting before Chapel, and withdrew from dinner in Hall on Wednesdays, as well as on Fridays. Many also attended the weekly celebrations of Holy Communion which were instituted at St. Mary's, by Newman, on Sunday mornings at 7 o'clock." But Dean Stephens points out with truth that Freeman was drawn into all this movement on the side of external matters, music, painting, architecture, ritual, ecclesiastical discipline. "For purely theological or philosophical speculations he never had any strong taste or aptitude, and in time they became positively repugnant to him." His researches into ecclesiastical discipline saved him from a great disaster. He became engaged to be married, and, considering a profession, directed his thoughts to ordination and a College living. But "his final decision against ordination turned on the conviction that celibacy was the most proper and desirable condition for the clergy on all grounds." He had thought out this for himself, and "he could not attribute his opinions to the direct influence of any man however eminent." Thus while he was, through his whole course at Oxford, an extreme High Churchman, it was

rather because those principles were in the air, than because he was a disciple of Newman or Pusey.

But at the same time he was dissatisfied with the position of the Church of England, and this was intensified by the railings of those opposed to Rome. In January, 1846, Dr. Jeune, Master of Pembroke, afterwards an Anglican Bishop, preached a "violent sermon about the worship of St. Mary." Freeman says, "If I had to sit under many more such, I should certainly go clean over." On Whit Sunday he wrote of "a very long and pestilential discourse of Garbett's, a furious invective against Rome, which went off finally from the declamatory into the blasphemous. This kind of thing, had I to hear it often, would infallibly make me Roman, as it always makes me find out arguments against what is said."

In 1847, Freeman married Miss Gutch, the daughter of his former tutor, to whom he had been long engaged, and settled at Littlemore, having resolved to devote himself to literature, and especially to historic research, abandoning all idea of the more formal and definite professions. He had a moderate competence, and faith in his power of obtaining remunerative work, a faith which was fully justified.

His marriage was coincident, though he did not perhaps realize it, with the great decision of his life; he had come where the ways parted for so many about that time; when friends who had walked hand in hand so long took, one the upward, one the downward road. Newman had become a Catholic, his dear friends Church and Rogers could not follow in that steep path and purer atmosphere; now Patterson was to go out into the strait way of eternal life, as Ward and Faber and others had gone, leaving those they loved best behind. With many it was the one chance, and it was rejected. For them Christina Rossetti's terrible poetic dialogue was true:

"This beaten way thou beatest, I fear is hell's own track."

"Nay, too steep for hill-mounting; nay, too late for cost-counting:

This down-hill path is easy, but there's no turning back."

Yet it may be allowed that men like Church and Freeman had more excuse for going the wrong way than they would have now. That the early British Church bore sway in England up to the arrival of St. Augustine, who was intruding an "Italian Mission" into existing dioceses; that the Supremacy of St. Peter was not an historical fact; that no dislocation of historic continuity took place in the English Church under

Henry VIII. or Elizabeth ; were all things that could then be believed by those who wished to believe them, without wilful blindness or disingenuousness. Men who investigated the question, so far as investigation was then possible, remained in the Church of England, in good faith ; they can hardly be in good faith now, save by avoiding all examination of the questions at issue.

Freeman wished Patterson to take a curacy near him in the country, but a blessed dissatisfaction with Anglicanism had taken hold on the mind of his friend, and Freeman wrote :

What is the matter with you about the Romans? Don't do anything rash. I have not thought much about them lately, but as far as I have, my present studies have given me a push the other way, and my faith in Blessed Gregory VII. is somewhat shaken as the sender over of those abominable Norman thieves.

This was in 1848, and by 1854 he had written and persuaded himself to this : "She," Elizabeth, "reared up the fabric of a Church free alike from the superstition of the Papist and the licentiousness of the Puritan," and thereabouts he remained to the end, lessening gradually his hold of dogma, and, so far as is ascertainable, of practice, as he grew older, and more and more a law to himself. It would be difficult from what he wrote in the later part of his life to discover that he had more than a literary interest in Christianity, though in a few passages he recognized that morality is not likely to exist without dogma. Towards the end of his life he wrote to Bishop Patterson from Oxford :

Chapels, though not filled as they used to be, are certainly not neglected. And weekly Communion, and Communion on Ascension Day, have been set up lately at the request of the undergraduates. And I know in other ways that there are plenty of believers here, even among men who do not profess any special ecclesiastical zeal. One thing is much to be noticed, that a great many who do not believe Christian dogmas do most thoroughly practise Christian morals ; only I should like to know what I can't know, whether their grandchildren, brought up without dogmas, would keep the morals.

With regard to Freeman's attitude to Christianity, we accept in all sincerity what his biographer tells us in summing up his life :

Although Freeman did not, after his early Oxford days, often write or talk directly about religion, . . . he remained to the end of his life a sincere and devout Christian. The history of Christianity was to

his mind a convincing evidence of its Divine origin. He was not fond of theological definitions, and sometimes declaimed against them in a way which led his hearers to imagine that he doubted the cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith. Such a supposition however did him great injustice. He disliked theological definitions, mainly because he thought that the mysteries of religion were really indefinable, and that the attempt to define them only narrowed their meaning and weakened their force; but he was a steadfast believer in the great verities of the Christian Creed. . . In all external observances he remained throughout his life a consistent member of the Church of England, being regular in his attendance at the Sacrament of Holy Communion as well as at the ordinary services of the Church, on Sundays and great festivals. For some years it was his custom to sit in the chancel of Wookey Church, robed in a surplice, and to read the lessons at the Sunday morning service.

All good as far as it goes, and done in good faith, but how many were the great verities of the Christian faith in which he believed? He wished for a revised Athanasian Creed; the unity of the Church had no meaning for him; there is next to no hint that he ever grasped the meaning of the Communion of Saints, or of the Forgiveness of Sins.

The arguments by which he convinced himself of the continuity of the Anglican Church are puerile; mainly that Parker was called to the see of Canterbury as successor of Cardinal Pole, as if it were not a part of Elizabeth's policy to maintain that there was no change, while making the greatest possible changes. And none knew that better than Freeman. He allowed himself to speak of the Holy Father as he spoke of all others with whom he did not agree, with an insufferable arrogance. He wrote, after a visit to Rome in 1873, to a lady correspondent: "We did not see the Bishop of Rome. I had not the least wish, as I could only have told him to go back to his place at the Lateran, and look after his diocese, and not sit sulking, and cursing, and making dogmas, on the wrong side of the Tiber; but you perhaps know by this time what I think of Paips and their nephews." And again to Canon Meyrick: "I know you have not converted the Paip, for he was still sulking in a corner when I was last in Rome." The tone of his later letters and writings is far from that of a man who had once seen as though they were very near the towers and bulwarks of the City of God.

It is impossible to do more than touch on the various points of interest in Freeman's life. For twenty-five years it was out-

wardly much the same: strenuous work in the country at his main studies, the Norman Conquest, Historical Essays, William Rufus, The History of Sicily, articles by the hundred for the *Guardian*, and the *Saturday Review*, in the nickname for which (the *Reviler*), he characteristically delighted. His annual journeys were really a part of his studies, and he never cared, as it would seem, to visit any place in which he had no definite researches to make, or definite facts to verify. The Crimean War served to clear his mind on two matters: the first that if we were to choose between Czar and Turk, it was better to support the Czar, and next that Louis Napoleon was the typical modern tyrant without the grandeur of those of old, to be abhorred of all good men. When travelling in France, to learn historical geography in the cities with which he had to deal, Paris was always detestable, and chiefly, as it would seem, because Louis Napoleon lived there. "Paris," he wrote in 1863, "is of course as beastly as ever. How different from Caen or Rouen. Paris is just a collection of shops and stuck up people, with the Tyrant's house in the middle." In 1871, he rejoiced in the destruction of the house. "The Tuileries are all ruined and blackened, and I sang a psalm over them: 'Now that he lieth let him rise up no more.'"

He stood for Parliament twice without success, and indeed was never likely to succeed in any country constituency; for though he became a Justice of the Peace, and took his part in county meetings, he was far from being a typical squire. The tenderness he showed for enslaved races he extended to hunted animals; he detested field sports of all kinds, and engaged in a rough and tumble contest with Anthony Trollope, in which it is difficult to say who hit the hardest; while both were unsubdued. But unprejudiced lookers-on must admit that Freeman had the best of the logical argument, even if illogical nature might sometimes sanction their following the hounds. With this exception, and this was of a public nature, Freeman was, as a rule, happy in his correspondents. They were men like-minded with himself—Dean Hook, Bishop Stubbs, Mr. J. R. Green, Mr. James Bryce, Professor Boyd Dawkins—and his own family. He was in all cases the same self-assertive person, who, if the word had been invented, might have been described as a literary "bounder," but the letters are always pleasant. His friends took him as he was, and when he said that his business was "to blow Johnny Green's trumpet" when Green was as yet unknown,

Mr. Green was content to be called "Johnnikin," "homunculus," and such-like nicknames, which a man with a truer sense of the fitting would have spared him. Save in regard to Bishop Stubbs and Dean Hook, it would be difficult to find any one for whom, however he loved him, Freeman had not a certain tolerant contempt. That he should be totally ignorant of science was natural, fitting, and a subject of boast; that men of science should not have read the *Norman Conquest* was blindness or even sin.

He writes to Professor Boyd Dawkins from Dol in the spring of 1867:

I fell in with some of your folks this morning, to wit Lubbock, Huxley, and one *whom I think they called Hooker*. I fell in with them at Dinan. They marvelled at my not going further, but I pleaded that according to the tapestry, Dinan seemed the furthest point reached by William and Harold. N.B.—I gathered from their talk that they knew me to be somebody, but I inferred that they knew nothing of *Norman Conquest*, vol. i. *You had better amend that blindness.*

"'Tis beastly to have to call Normandy and Brittany France," he exclaims in the same letter, and soon afterwards breaks out thus to Professor Bryce: "I am more and more convinced of the extreme folly of the people here in talking French. Why on earth did they forget their natural Danish, to say nothing of the still earlier Saxon? It seems so absolutely ridiculous to hear the Gal-Welsh jabber coming out of the fine Dutch carcasses of so many of our Normans hereabout." He was always an indifferent French scholar, and therefore he hated French; he was interested in the history and geography of the country only as they bore on his special studies. He was always, however, sufficiently interested in France to hate the Emperor. He writes to Miss Freeman from Paris in 1868:

We saw a mighty grand carriage with outriders and what not, and Johnny swore he saw the Tyrant and Mother B—— in it, but I could not distinguish, or rather I could not look. Since then Johnny has been a little disgusted, and more ready to come away.

In 1876 those events occurred which made Freeman's name known far beyond literary people. The people of Bulgaria had risen against their Turkish master, and, in suppression of the revolt, the Turks committed deeds which filled all Europe with horror. When Bosnia and Hertzegovina demanded independence, and Russia declared war against Turkey, there was grave

danger that the whole Eastern question would be reopened, and that this country might be dragged into war with Russia on behalf of the Turk. Meetings were held "to express sympathy with the people who had risen against the Turkish yoke, and to protest against interference by England with the work of emancipation, whether it was promoted by Russia, or by any other Power." At one of those meetings Freeman cried: "Let duty come first and interest second, and perish the interests of England, perish our dominion in India, rather than that we should strike one blow, or speak one word on behalf of the wrong against the right." It was a noble speech, though misquoted and assailed, and it is a pleasure to revive the memory of that hour, when, however Freeman departed from their teaching on other points, he came forth on a public platform to show how entirely he was at one with the great principles of St. Pius V. and Cardinal Newman in regard to the sway of the Turks in Europe, the predominance of the Crescent in lands which have accepted the Cross.

When in 1884, Professor Stubbs was made Bishop of Chester, Freeman was appointed to succeed him, as Professor of Modern History at Oxford. There was considerable delay, which is said on good authority to have been due to an inquiry made by Her Majesty as to the precise words, and the exact meaning of the words, used by Freeman in his famous speech at St. James's Hall, when he was reported to have said: "Perish India." In reply to congratulations he wrote to Mr. Goldwin Smith:

It is something to succeed Arnold, you and Stubbs, but I gnash my teeth that I have not had you and Stubbs to my colleagues and not to my predecessors. Years ago, to fill one of the historical chairs at Oxford was my alternative ambition with a seat in Parliament. It seemed for years as if neither would ever come to me, and now at last one has come when I am rather too old for the change.

He could not reconcile himself to a changed Oxford and a changed life, his professorship was rather a recognition of what he had done for history, than a position in which he could do new and satisfactory work. He fell into ill health, yet worked energetically, and travelled as of old, and was travelling in Spain when the end came. Long a sufferer from gout and its attendant ills, he yet died of small-pox in Spain, and was buried on March 17, 1862, the day after his death, in the Protestant cemetery at Alicante. His wife and daughters were

near him to the end. It is sad to think that the nature of his disease prevented their giving him all the nursing they would have desired ; it is sadder still that in Catholic Spain he should have been unable to avail himself of the many blessings which attend a Catholic death-bed ; it is saddest to think of the peace that was lacking to that stormy life, that unbridled tongue, that fierce and arrogant nature, because he would not obey, and submit himself to the one power whose service is perfect freedom.

He gave a new conception to history, and while Professor of Modern History, would scarce admit that there was any gulf fixed between ancient and modern. Some, he said, asserted that modern history began with the French Revolution, others would place its beginning at the call of Abraham ; he would only say it was somewhere between the two. We may thank him for what he taught and accept much, his patient investigation of facts, his wide range of vision, his discovery of the old within the new. We may add to it our own conviction that the foundation of the Christian Church is the only centre of all history, and that in the adhesion to it of states and nations, and in their aberration from it lies the secret of the welfare and the woes of the world.

But our own special interest in this book, as we think will be that of our readers, has been that it so far completes the series of the lives of those who were affected by the older Oxford movement, when Newman and Pusey, Ward and Faber were young, and men woke to the stir of new thoughts which had slept for centuries, when the brain of England was alert with new hopes. The hopes are still with us, the conflict continues, but they are not new. We who live in the sultry middle of the day, can never quite have the elastic feelings of those who went out to meet the dawn, we understand them better as we read the lives of those who saw its rising.

C. KEGAN PAUL.

*The Blessed Richard of Glastonbury
and his Companions.*

WHEN the celebrated decree was issued on the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, 1886, which raised fifty-four of our martyrs to the altars of the Church, a contemporary, referring to the most prominent figure of that white-robed host, remarked, with as much wit as truth, that "though there were a great many Saints already in the Calendar, no Englishman would object to *More!*"

And now that the supplementary decree for which we have been waiting and praying so long, has at last appeared to gladden us, we fancy that there are few of our countrymen, however little they sympathize with Catholic belief and practice, who will not rejoice with us that the martyred sons of St. Benedict have at length been given the place which they so justly merited.

It was a surprise to all certainly, and almost a shock to most of us, to find that at the last moment the Abbot of Glastonbury and his companions had been omitted from the list of Beati, and that the Order to which England owes the first planting of the Faith, had no representative among the martyrs who died to defend it.

Nine years will soon have passed since then, and up till now we have waited. But not in vain, nor idly; the disappointment but caused the valiant defenders of our martyrs' claims, to work the more indefatigably to vindicate their cause. And now at last the hopes and prayers and labours are crowned with success, and we may all sing *Te Deum* together with that venerable English Congregation which is so dear to every Catholic heart, as a unique link with the past, a living bond which unites us of the nineteenth century to the Church founded by the black-robed monks who brought the Gospel to the shores of Kent in the days of the great Gregory!

Yes; *Te Deum laudamus! Te martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus!* We praise Him on earth for giving us this grace,

and we fancy we can almost catch the echoes of the triumphal hymns in Heaven, as Elphege and Thomas, More and Fisher, thank Him for thus solemnly numbering amid their ranks, these heroes who died for the same cause as they. And even among non-Catholics, as we have remarked, we do not think that many a discordant note will be raised.

In the first place the Benedictines still excite in English hearts a strange affection and reverence, a feeling partly traditional, partly unconscious, the legacy of their first apostleship, the unextinguishable memory of a vast debt. The people love its old historic glories; Canterbury and Westminster, do what you will, cannot be severed from the image of those who formed them, even the ruined abbeys speak of a past, which though misunderstood, misrepresented, is still sacred and dear.

Instances of this feeling are constantly to be met with. Only lately a French Benedictine was telling the writer how once in a visit to this country, he passed through London, and clad in his religious habit as he was, entered the Abbey precincts of Westminster. The sight of the old habit which once moved there in undisputed ownership, entering timidly, almost furtively, those aisles and cloisters, was indeed one to awake emotion and interest in the least reflecting breast; but we were not quite prepared to hear of the eager courtesy and sympathetic respect with which two Canons of the Abbey hastened to show to the Benedictine the treasures of his Father's home. The love of St. Benedict has indeed wonderfully lingered on in this poor distracted land.

And in the second place, these very martyrs, whom Holy Church now joyfully reckons among her Blessed, are men for whose devotion and single-mindedness, for whose tragic and undeserved fate, there is, among the English people, a wide feeling of sympathy and veneration. We were pleased to read in a recent number of the *Church Times*, an article which spoke of them in terms of the most ungrudging admiration and generous respect. As the history of the period (thanks to historians like Dom Gasquet) becomes more intimately known, so does the national conscience become more stirred by indignation at the hideous evils of the Reformation, and by pity for its victims, or rather martyrs.

And indeed can any more pathetic figure in the whole of history be found, than that of the venerable and aged Abbot

hurried on to death by the gates of the holy house where he had spent a long life of faithful service, in ignorance that that house had but now been doomed to a perpetual ruin, without time to make his shrift, or bless his exiled children, hardly realizing what was taking place, till he found himself laid flat upon the rough hurdle, and dragged over the stones of his own town, up to the summit of his Calvary?

Or those other Abbots, each so long the revered father and lord of a monastery whose fortunes and history were entwined with all that was most sacred and most noble in the nation's life, called out to their abbey gateways, and there butchered beneath the eyes of their own children, for the crime of being faithful to their trust?

Or the poor monks who had striven to save at least some small portion of the abbey's sacred treasure from the polluted hands of the royal robber; to spare at least some sacred relic, some consecrated vessel from the sacrilege of a modern Belshazzar?

The story of their lives and deaths, as it has come down to us, is scanty enough, alas! but still we know sufficient to make our hearts glow, and our pulses beat with pride to think that we may number such heroes among our fathers and our advocates.

Of Blessed Richard Whiting and his companions, all that is known has been admirably told us by one who is of all men the most competent to deal with such a theme.

Many of our readers will have already read Dom Gasquet's *Last Abbot of Glastonbury*, but in those who have not we trust these lines will awaken a desire to do so. Briefly told, the life of Richard Whiting up to the final tragedy is that of many another monk, both of his time and our own, except that the position of the mitred abbot of such a house as Glaston, with his seat in Parliament and his temporal lordship and jurisdiction, is now almost everywhere a thing of the past. We must go perhaps as far as Hungary, to the great Archabbey of St. Martin of Pannonia, to meet with anything similar in these levelling days.

Blessed Richard Whiting was born on the abbey estates, he was almost certainly brought up in the abbey school, and but for a brief stay at the University, hardly left the precincts of Glastonbury during the whole of his long and fruitful life.

Glastonbury! what memories, what legends, the very name calls up. A place of wondrous fascination, with its traditions

stretching back to the mystic figure of the white-haired Arimathean, bearing the sacred treasure of the Holy Grail in one hand, and the wondrous thorn, with its untimely blossom, in the other. Memories of the heroic King who held at bay the forces of Saxon heathenness for a generation, and now sleeps peacefully beneath the sacred sod of Avalon (if, indeed, Arthur be not awaiting in some hidden bower of the holy isle the hour of restoration and return). And then the saints of Glastonbury! apostles like Patrick, sages like Gildas, kings like Lucius and Alfred, martyrs like Elphege and Benignus, monks like Angus and Ceolfrid, prelates like David, Paulinus, and Dunstan. All these, and how many more, had lived here, lives of prayer and mortification, had died here, deaths precious in the sight of God, or at least had enriched the Rome of Britain with their holy dust. Most sacred spot to the Briton, home of his faith, and chiefest sanctuary of his religion, it became none the less sacred to the pagan Saxon invader, and it lost none of its mysterious influence over men's souls when the Normans, with their affectation of contempt for Saxon saintliness, became in their turn conquerors of the land.

And its external glory and beauty, dignity and magnificence, were in keeping with this unique spiritual position. The glorious church, which exceeded in size all the cathedrals that now exist in England,¹ still incomparably beautiful in its ruin and decay, with our Lady's chapel at the western end, a gem of Norman architecture, with its rich and intricate sculpture, and the glorious chancel-arch soaring to the sky, a veritable *porta cæli*—what must it have been in the splendour of its virgin integrity, in the full noontide of its unravaged beauty?

The monastery girding it round, like the rich setting of the precious gem, the long-drawn cloisters, where the fountain ran unceasingly in the midst of the garth, and the novices sang their prick-song around their master's desk; the great library, with its stores of priceless treasures, so numerous and so perfect, that the very sight of them took Leland's breath away; the quiet scriptorium, where day by day the silent scribes added to these treasures by the copying of some ancient tome, or the limning of some fair miniature on the border of a missal;² the noble refectory, the spacious hospitium in which guests and pilgrims were never lacking all the year round, the Abbot's princely

¹ Willis, *Mitred Abbeys*, vol. i. p. 99.

² Tanner, in his Preface to *Notitia Monastica*, gives a list of fifty or more volumes transcribed in the time of one abbot.

lodgings, "fit only for the King's grace," where five hundred guests would at times be entertained at the prelate's table, and in whose halls¹ three or four hundred youths of gentle birth received a liberal education; the innumerable offices and adjuncts, which made the monastery look like a small city, and of which the only relic that remains to us is the quaint octagonal kitchen, whence food was dispensed of old to crowds of poor; all this can hardly be realized nowadays, any more than we can adequately conceive the position of an Abbot who was richer than the Archbishop of Canterbury, and more powerful than the Bishop of Wells.

Who could have imagined in those days that this most sacred sanctuary, which had its roots so deeply implanted in the nation's life, which could boast of an unequalled place in the people's history, and of such an unexampled magnificence and exuberance of life, should at one fell stroke be ruined for ever, and that what British, Saxon, and Norman piety had been building up for centuries, should collapse and come to naught at the bidding of one tyrant, without a word of protest, or attempt of struggle, from the people around?

But so it was to be, and it was for Richard Whiting that God reserved the sorrowful glory of closing the long list of Abbots of Glastonbury.

This blessed martyr was born amid the horrors of the Wars of the Roses, of a gentle family settled on the abbey estates in the valley of Wrington. A monk of this family (probably an uncle of the future Abbot of Glastonbury) was Camerarius of the Benedictine Abbey of Bath, and the name is found in the annals of other religious houses. His early life was uneventful. His education was begun at the abbey, and finished at Cambridge (probably at Monk's College, now Magdalen), where he took his M.A. degree in 1483, and where he must have known, at least by sight and reputation, the future Cardinal and martyr, Blessed John Fisher. Another martyr he would know more closely at Glastonbury, when he returned to take his part in teaching in the abbey schools, Blessed Richard Bere (nephew of his namesake, the Abbot elected in 1494), who was brought up at Glaston under his uncle's care, before he passed to the London Charterhouse and the martyr's crown. It is touching to think that from the lessons of Richard Whiting the boy may have

¹ "The 'great chamber' was seventy-two feet long, and twenty-four broad." (Dugdale.) The stately "King's lodgings" were added by Abbot Bere.

gained his religious vocation, and that fervour of spirit which stood him in good stead during his long agony in the dungeons of the Tower.

Whiting was priested at Wells in 1501, and in 1505 returned to Cambridge to take his doctor's degree.

He was appointed to one of the principal charges of the abbey, to the post of Camerarius, which gave him jurisdiction over the dormitory, lavatory, and wardrobe of the community.

In 1525, Abbot Bere died, and after solemn prayers and deliberations, the chapter decided to elect his successor *per formam compromissi*—i.e., to give up their right of choosing the future Abbot in favour of some distinguished prelate. Cardinal Wolsey was the person selected, and after all the due formalities had been gone through, he named Richard Whiting. Another interesting link with a future martyr comes in here, the Cardinal's commission announcing his choice to the community was signed by Blessed Thomas More as witness. Whiting is described in this document as "an upright and religious monk, a provident and discreet man, and a priest commendable for his life, virtues, and learning."

On the 8th of March, the monastic delegates returned from London, and after acquainting the brethren assembled in chapter with the result of their mission, the procession wended its way to the church chanting the *Te Deum*, where a public notary announced to the crowds who had flocked thither, eager to hear the result, the name of the future Abbot, their lord and prelate. In truth, the hardest part of the long business was yet to come, to obtain, that is, the consent of the elect; but after many hours of thought and prayer, Richard Whiting saw clearly that he could "no longer offer resistance to what appeared to be the will of God," and he therefore bowed his shoulders to the heavy burden that was to be laid on him. How heavy a cross none could then foresee, when all smiled around, and the sky was clear and serene; and yet not nine years would pass, before all might with reason shrink from such a burden as his.

On the 28th of March, 1525, the new Abbot-elect was solemnly blessed in his abbey church by Dr. William Gilbert, Abbot of Bruton, who was also Bishop of Mayo, and acting suffragan to the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

And thus he began his rule with the *Ad multos annos* sounding all around him, strong in the love of his sons and of

the people, strong in the favour of the great Cardinal who was all-powerful in England, but strongest because he put not his trust in princes, nor in any child of man.

It is not our intention to sketch even briefly the course of events which led to the violent severing of this country from the unity of Christendom—the story is but too well known.

The summons to take the oath of royal supremacy fell upon Glastonbury, as on the other religious houses of England, like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. And alas! the havoc it worked resembled that of the storm in early autumn, which shakes from the trees in showers their leaves of russet gold.

It had been calculated, doubtless, that the Religious would refuse the oath, and to make this surer, it was proposed to them in an amplified and far more offensive form than that which More and Fisher had refused to take. The object was to secure the rich prize of monastic wealth and lands for the royal purse. But for once Crumwell had miscalculated. The required oath was taken almost everywhere without demur, and on September 19th, 1534, Abbot Whiting, and fifty-one members of his community, affixed their signatures to it in the chapter-house of Glastonbury.

It was a terrible fall. No special pleading can disguise the fact that it was an act of apostasy on the face of it, and would that all had expiated their fault as nobly as the last Abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester!

It was an apostasy, for not only did the subscribers swear that the marriage of Henry and Anne was just and legitimate, and the succession good in their offspring, but "also that they would ever hold the King to be the Head of the Church of England, that the Bishop of Rome, who in his Bulls usurped the name of Pope, and arrogated to himself the primacy of the most High Pontiff, had no more authority or jurisdiction than other Bishops of England, or elsewhere, in their dioceses, and that they would for ever renounce the laws, decrees, and canons of the Bishop of Rome, if any of them should be found contrary to the law of God and Holy Scripture."

We do not think we should be showing true honour to these servants of God if we attempted to palliate the guilt of such a fall. No doubt they tried to persuade themselves that the oath might be so construed as to make it just lawful; no doubt they hoped for better times, when the King should be returned to his better self, no doubt they loathed the act demanded of them,

yet they yielded, even as Peter yielded in the halls of Caiphas; but like Peter they repented, like Peter they wept bitterly, like Peter they atoned for the fall with their blood, and by that sorrow, and that heroic atonement, they have merited the robe of penitence and the crown of martyrdom.

Dom Gasquet has said all that can be said in explanation of the sad and extraordinary fact that "throughout England the Blessed John Fisher, and Thomas More, and the Observants, almost alone, were found from the beginning neither to hesitate nor waver," and we refer our readers to his pages.¹

There were many who, like the Abbot of Woburn, repented as soon as they had fallen, who openly wished that they had died with More and the Carthusians, and who refused to call the King Supreme Head of the Church, because "his conscience was scrupulous touching the continuance of the Bishop of Rome." Others, like Blessed John Houghton, might argue themselves into believing that it was their duty "to make themselves anathema for their brethren's sake." Nor must we suppose that all the monks whose names are appended to the oath were partakers in the evil deed. We are expressly told of those of Glastonbury "that the signatures are not autographs, but frequently in the same handwriting, and" probably "the writer of the deed often added many names."

It is very probable, too, that they refused to sign without making a condition, such as was often done, "as far as the law of Christ allowed," or something similar; and Blessed Hugh Cook of Reading is said by an anonymous libeller, to whom we owe much of our scant knowledge of the three Abbots, to have "added prettily in his own conscience these words following (Supreme Head) of the Temporal Church," saith he, "but not of the Spiritual Church."

But to return to Abbot Whiting. The King's scheme had failed: for a time Glastonbury was safe. For a time, but not for long. Crumwell, the evil genius of Henry, had soon devised another plan, more subtle even than the last, by which he might hope soon to fill the King's coffers with the wealth of the great abbeyes.

¹ *The Last Abbot of Glastonbury*, pp. 49, seq. The question as to what oath was taken by the Blessed Carthusian martyrs is very obscure, but we can hardly believe that they took it in the form quoted above. See Hendrik's *History of the London Charterhouse*, pp. 124, seq., who argues that they merely agreed to the succession. The form of oath was not prescribed by Parliament till later, and was variable at the will of the commissioners.

In August, 1535, the royal visitors arrived at Glastonbury, in the course of their inquisitorial tour among the religious houses of Somersetshire. "At Bruton and at Glastonbury there is nothing notable," writes the infamous Layton to Crumwell; "the brethren be kept so straight that they cannot offend"—adding, with the coarse malignity of a low mind: "But fain they would if they might as they confess, and so the fault is not with them," the fellow's only conception of the regular observance of a monastery being the constraint of a convict prison.

He was, however, armed with injunctions, framed by the Vicar-General of the new Supreme Head of the Church, with the express object of reducing monastic life to that of a gaol, and so to render it intolerable to the Religious. In this way, it was calculated, the monks themselves would beg to be delivered from so burdensome a yoke, and would "not need to be put forth," but would "make instant suit themselves, so that their doing should be imputed to themselves and no other."¹ But here again the enemy was foiled at Glaston! The monks against whose conduct, a villain who could, as a Protestant historian has said, "extract guilt from a stammer, a tremble, or a blush, or even from indignant silence, as surely as from open confession," could yet find nothing, no scandals, no calumnies, no suspicions even; such men were not to be forced from the holy profession they had vowed before God, by harsh regulations or cruel privations.

Abbot Whiting soon found "that the injunctions were not merely impracticable, but subversive of the first principles of religious discipline," and he begged for certain relaxations; but "it was clearly the royal purpose to let inconveniences be felt, not to remove them." Other trials he had to bear; the jurisdiction exercised over the town of Glastonbury and its dependencies was suspended by royal authority. "There are many poor people," he writes, "who are waiting to have their causes tried." He cannot think, he adds pathetically, that the King's pleasure has been rightly stated in Dr. Layton's orders. His best farms and manors had to be yielded up to royal favourites. Crumwell had the shamelessness to demand for himself an annuity which had been freely granted to Blessed Thomas More.

In 1536 the lesser monasteries fell into the King's hands: it was but the beginning of the end. Rivers of gold would not

¹ Letter of two of the visitors, ap Rice and Legh, to Crumwell.

slake Henry's avarice. "All the wealth of the world would not be enough to satisfy and content his ambition," wrote the French Ambassador to his master, Francis I. Richard Whiting, however, remained amidst his own people, calmly governing his abbey and attending to his duties till the very end. He excused himself from attending the Parliament of 1539, no doubt anticipating what its business would be. Nor would he be astonished when in April was passed a law which not only by a retrospective clause granted to the King the greater monasteries which he had already illegally seized, but also all which should hereafter happen to be "dissolved, suppressed, renounced, relinquished, forfeited, given up or come unto the King's Highness." And this was not all. It was anticipated that some would never surrender; therefore "an ominous parenthesis" was slipped in to include such as should happen to come to him "by attainder or attainders *of treason*."

Thus the devilish work was done: men like our three Blessed Abbots had but to prepare for death. Never would they betray their trust: it could only be torn from them with their lives.

The next thing we come across is the oft-quoted note in Crumwell's *Remembrances* (September, 1539): "*Item*, for proceeding against the Abbots of Reading, Glaston, and the other in their own countries." The victims had been marked out, and now the sacrifice proceeded with appalling swiftness. The King needed gold! On September 19 three commissioners, Layton, Pollard, and Moyle, suddenly and without warning arrived at Glastonbury. Finding the Abbot absent at his grange of Sharpham (part of which still remains), they hurried after him there. They pestered the poor old man "with certain articles" dictated by Crumwell, and hurried him back to the abbey, where they proceeded during the night to ransack his papers and search his apartments. They found a book of arguments against the divorce, "which we take to be a great matter," as also divers pardons, copies of Bulls, and the counterfeit Life of Thomas Becket in print, but no letter "that was material."

It is stirring to think that his devotion to St. Thomas was one of the pretexts which gained the Abbot his crown; and our thoughts go back to Blessed Thomas More in his dungeon, rejoicing that he was to die "on St. Thomas' eve."

Next day more interrogations, the answers showing "his cankerous and traitorous mind against the King's Majesty and

his succession," *i.e.*, in other words, his devotion to the Vicar of Christ. Never more would Richard Whiting yield; he would proclaim his faith before men and angels now; "and so with as fair words" as they could, "he being but a very weak man and sickly," they sent him up to London, to the Tower, for Crumwell to work his will on him.

And here the curtain falls over the sad picture. What happened in that dark dungeon where the old man lay preparing for his end? We know not, only we know the result. Searching examinations there were, and secretly, without form of trial, the three Abbots were condemned to death by him who was at once "prosecutor, judge, and jury," as we see from his own damning record.

"*Item*," Crumwell writes in his *Remembrances*, "Councillors to give evidence against the Abbot of Glaston, Richard Pollard, Lewis Forstell, and Thomas Moyle. *Item*, To see that the evidence be *well sorted* and the indictments *well drawn* against the said abbots and their accomplices." And to sum up all: "*Item*, The Abbot of Glaston to be tried at Glaston, and also executed there."

Meanwhile Layton and his companions were not idle. Such ransacking of rooms and chests, such prying into every secret corner, behind wainscot, under floor—not without result; such bullying and pestering of unhappy monks and witnesses, till the book of "divers and sundry treasons," committed by the Abbot, "with the accusers' names put to the same," was completed and sent up to Crumwell, who doubtless made good use of it in his long day's interview "with the King's learned counsel . . . for the full conclusion of the indictments."

And so for one more glance over Crumwell's shoulder, as he notes the prize: "The plate of Glastonbury, 11,000 ounces and over, besides golden. The furniture of the house of Glaston. In ready money from Glaston, £1,000 and over. The rich copes from Glaston. The whole year's revenue of Glaston. The debts of Glaston, £2,000 and above."¹

And now came the end. There was no need to wait; let it be quickly done; the monks and servants "despatched with as much celerity" as Layton could do it. Glastonbury had ceased to be: it was time that the old man were dead. And so we follow him on his last journey home, in company with the

¹ *i.e.*, of course debts *due* to Glaston. Crumwell was not going to occupy himself with paying the monks' debts, if they had any.

hypocritical Pollard and other false friends, to the Bishop's Hall at Wells, where all was ready for the mock trial. John Lord Russell had his jury ready, "very diligent to serve the King," and had gathered a concourse of people such as had seldom been seen in that quiet cathedral city. No time for rest or thought was given the old man. It was on Friday, the 14th of November, that he reached Wells, and immediately the business began. It was speedy enough. The "worshipful jury" were not apparently asked to give a verdict, but the martyr was not spared a drop of the bitter cup of indignity, outrage, and ingratitude. How it must have cut him to the heart to hear his own tenants, the friends to whom he had been so good, coming forward one after the other with false accusations against him! Without inquiry, without defence, without a judgment even, the cruel farce was hurried through, and the aged prelate, who stood, like his Master, among thieves and murderers, was taken away to wait the end. But not in peace. The rest he needed so much was denied him; more interrogations, more fruitless attempts to extract spoil from the victim, till morning dawned, and the last and closing scene begins.

He is brought to Glastonbury, to his own Glastonbury; he entreats their leave to enter his abbey once more, to embrace and bless his sons, knowing not, alas! that the old monastery has ceased to be, and that his children are wandering homeless exiles over the land; he is laid on the hurdle, with the two monks who are to share his doom, "for robbing Glastonbury Church," and with them he is dragged over the stones of his town up the steep Tor Hill, to the place of martyrdom. None of the ghastly sentence is spared, and before nightfall the blessed martyr's head is fixed over the gateway of his abbey, while his limbs are exposed at Wells, at Bath, at Bridgewater, and Ilchester.

His monks, D. John Thorne, treasurer of the church, a man of mature age, and D. Roger James, a young man professed but a short time back, shared his fate and his crown. "They took their death also very patiently," begging, like their father, forgiveness of all they might have offended, so that even Crumwell's agent is moved, and cries with a tenderness strange to him: "Whose souls God pardon."

The Abbot of Reading won his crown on the same eventful day. Blessed Hugh Cook (who is often known as Faringdon) was of a good Kentish family, known to the heralds. Like

Blessed Thomas More, he had been a special favourite of Henry's, who called him "his own Abbot." But his conscience was unyielding, and the great abbey, reared by another Henry to contain the great relic of the hand of St. James the Apostle, was passing rich; so that he had but to die. The story of the fall of Reading, as of the fall of Colchester, is only a repetition, *mutatis mutandis*, of that of Glastonbury. Abbot Cook seems to have been the first of the three to be arrested; and he was in the Tower two months with the others.

He was a strong Catholic, and "could not abide" the preachers of the new doctrines, "but called them heretics and knaves of the new learning." He is charged with saying "that he would pray for the Pope's Holiness as long as he lived, and would once a week say Mass for him, trusting that by such good prayers the Pope should rise again and have the King's Highness with the whole realm in subjection, as he hath had in times past."

It was for such "treason" as this that Blessed Hugh Cook died. He was also, like his brother martyrs, a strong maintainer of holy discipline. They "thought it both heresy and treason to God to leave Matins unsaid, to speak loud in the cloisters, and to eat eggs on the Friday," says the anonymous libeller already quoted (whom Dom Gasquet takes to have been Latimer), with a proper disgust for such superstition.

He, too, after the weary interrogations of the Tower, was carried down to Reading for the mockery of a trial, and butchered at his own abbey-gate, with his last breath confessing "his detestable treasons," that is, his faith in the Supremacy of Peter and his successors, which he declared to be the common faith of the English Church, and ever taught and held by her pastors, by men like Warham, late Archbishop of Canterbury, and Stokesley, late Bishop of London.

With him suffered two priests, Blessed John Eynon and Blessed John Rugg, about whom much doubt has been raised as to whether they were or were not monks. The decision, as we shall see, has been given in the affirmative. The Abbot of Colchester, Blessed Thomas Beche (or Marshall, as he is also called), was the last to suffer. It was on December 1, 1539, that he in his turn was dragged out to die a traitor's death before his abbey-gate; and thus he passed to share a glorious crown with his brethren who had already witnessed their good confession.

He is one of the glories of Oxford, for it was at Gloucester Hall (now Worcester College) in that University that he made his studies. As Abbot his openly expressed devotion for the memory of Fisher and More seems first to have brought him into trouble. When lodged in the Tower, with his brother Abbots, he was like them examined and confronted with witnesses and accusers. The deposition of one of these has fortunately come down to us, and from it we have a sample of the accusations brought against the Abbots, and more than an inkling of the cause for which they suffered.

The Abbot of Colchester was "divers times communing and respuing against the *King's Majesty's supremacy*, . . . saying that the whole authority was given by Christ unto Peter and to his successors, Bishops of Rome, to bind and to loose, and to grant pardon for sin, and to be the Chief and Supreme Head of the Church throughout all Christian realms, immediate and next unto Christ, and that it was against God's commandment and His laws that any temporal prince should be head of the Church."

Such was Abbot Beche's confession of faith. And as to his trust, he declared that the King should never have his abbey with *his* heart and will.

Therefore he suffered, and therefore we honour and invoke him as one of Christ's martyrs, a witness, like Thomas of Canterbury, like John of Rochester, to the divinely appointed Supremacy of Peter's See.

Martyrem non facit poena sed causa.

For what then did these Abbots die? It was not doubted of old, in spite of Burnet's attempt at denial, and Collier, the famous Protestant Church historian, sums up the general belief when he writes, "to reach the Abbots . . . the oath of supremacy was offered them, and upon their refusal, they were condemned for high treason." Hall (a contemporary lawyer, who probably saw the indictment), Stowe, Grafton, Hollinshed, and Sander, agree that it was for *denying the royal supremacy*. A letter to Henry Bullinger, written in February, 1540, reports that it was "for having joined in a conspiracy to restore the Pope."

And to sum up all, we may quote again from the anonymous writer, whose draft sermon on the three Blessed Abbots was submitted to Crumwell for approval, and left among his papers. His witness is unexceptionable, and his malice has been turned, by God's goodness, into a powerful instrument for the glorification of those he meant to vilify.

He dubs them "valiant Romish knights," and their monasteries "Romish cormorants' cabins," filled with "the false packing of Popery." "It will make many beware," he cries, "to put their fingers in the fire any more, either for the honour of Peter and Paul, or for the right of the Roman Church. . . . I think, verily, our mother Holy Church of Rome hath not so great a jewel of her own darling Reynold Poole, as she should have had of these three Abbots if they could have conveyed all things clearly. Could not our English Abbots be contented with English forked caps, but must look after Romish Cardinal hats also? . . . These Abbots were so true to the See Apostolic, so true I say unto that of Rome, and so false unto their Sovereign; they called always the King's Grace in the face of the people 'master,' but they thought nothing less than that, but whomsoever they called master, they served the Bishop of Rome, as did right well appear both by their own words and their own deeds."

And he concludes, with words which read strangely prophetic: "Is it not to be thought, trow ye, that forasmuch as these trusty traitors have so valiantly jeopardated a joint for the Bishop of Rome's sake, that His Holiness will after canvass them, *canonize* them, I would say, for their labours and pains? It is not to be doubted but His Holiness will look upon their pains as upon Thomas Becket's, *seeing it is for like matter*."

Thus Latimer (if it be he) prophesied like Caiphas and Balaam; and to us has been reserved the joy of seeing the fulfilment of the prediction!

And now for a word about the process of beatification. Readers of THE MONTH need not be reminded, that the fifty-four Beati previously raised to our altars, received that honour by what is known as equipollent beatification; that is, the Holy See decided that by Indult of Pope Gregory XIII. they had received already the public veneration of the Church as approved martyrs. And the proof of this was found most happily, just as we had resigned ourselves to begin the long process preparatory to ordinary beatification, in the pictures of the martyrdoms which were painted by permission of Gregory XIII. in the Church of the English College at Rome. The original pictures have perished with the church, but the engravings published in 1584, *cum privilegio Gregorii XIII. P.M.*, still fortunately exist.

Mgr. Caprara, Promoter of the Faith, considered that this

volume of engravings, in which the later English martyrs are represented together with the pre-Reformation canonized martyrs, was sufficient to admit to equipollent beatification the fifty-four martyrs described or named in the legends attached to the pictures. Now in one of these pictures (*tabula* 29) are represented, among others, some monks hanging from a gibbet, and below is inscribed the legend: "Three Reverend Abbots of the Order of St. Benedict are slain, and some of their monks are suffocated by the halter."

Our three Abbots and their four companions were inserted in the Decree of Beatification as originally drawn up, but at the last moment the Promoter of the Faith objected that, some other Abbots having suffered under Henry VIII., there was not then sufficient evidence to show that the Abbots of Glaston, Colchester, and Reading were the three represented.

So late in the day was it, that some copies of the decree had already been issued and sent off, but they were recalled, and a new decree brought out omitting the Benedictines altogether. This only impelled our Benedictine Fathers to new exertions to prove the point called in question; and it is principally owing to the labours of Dom Raynal, Dom Gasquet, and Dom Dolan, that at last, after several years' delay, the Promoter of the Faith in his *Disquisitio* (issued in the spring of 1894) expressed himself entirely satisfied as to the identity of the three Abbots, though he still demurred to the monks, not being sure that Gregory XIII. approved of the *cultus* of each of these, since even at that time there was some doubt about their state of life. Stowe and Sander call Eynon and Rugg *priests*, not monks, and the inscription on the picture is vague as to the number: "*aliquot* eorum monachis." To this the learned Postulator of the Cause, Father Armellini, S.J., replied in his *Responsio ad Disquisitionem* by proving that the indefinite *aliquot* could apply to four monks, and only four, who suffered with the Abbots; while the fact that "some of *their* monks" are spoken of, proves that Blessed Eynon and Rugg were monks, or at least were considered to be so at the time of the Indult of Gregory XIII. As to the monks of Glaston, there was no doubt whatever about their state;¹ as to those of Reading, it was argued with much reason that the fact of their

¹ A picture is preserved at St. Edmund's, Douai, which represents the monk, Blessed James Thorn. It is, however, a seventeenth century production, and the inscription gives the date of martyrdom wrongly.

being sometimes called *priests* does not prove that they were not also monks. The familiar title in our breviary, *Homilia Venerabilis Bedæ presbyteri*, does not lead any one to imagine a doubt as to the monastic profession of the great English Doctor. (The Abbot himself is styled *Clerk* in the indictment, not Abbot.) Eynon is named the *chief counsellor* of the Abbot, by the anonymous writer so often quoted, who goes on to exclaim: "I fear me Hugh Cook was master-cook to a great many of that *blackguard* that he was of himself (I mean black monks)," and so on. Brown Willis, Dugdale, Coates (in his *History of Reading*), Grosse, and other authorities, speak of them as monks.

These arguments were admitted valid, and the Promoter of the Faith withdrew his opposition, so that nothing remained but for the Sacred Congregation (or rather the particular Committee of Cardinals engaged in the matter, under the presidency of Cardinal Bianchi) to give their decision. This was pronounced this year on the 7th of May at the Vatican, and was affirmative. On the 13th of May the Holy Father confirmed this decision, and shortly afterwards the Decree was issued.

We believe that the feast of the Blessed Benedictine Martyrs is to be kept on the 1st of December; so we may hope yet to have the joy of celebrating it this year.

We have not spoken here of the other two martyrs who are included with the Benedictines in the Decree, as we understand that that is to be undertaken by more competent hands. Neither Blessed Thomas Percy nor Blessed Adrian Fortescue are, however, without special interest for our Order. The Earl of Northumberland's daughter, Lady Mary Percy, founded the first English Benedictine monastery for ladies, in place of those destroyed by the Reformation, at Brussels, which now flourishes, as all know, at East Bergholt; while the early connection of the Order of the Knights Hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem with that of St. Benedict, was so close and intimate, that Benedictines cannot be indifferent to the glory of one of its members.

These two noble laymen (for Blessed Adrian was a "Knight of Devotion," not of "Justice") are not unworthy to stand beside their companions, in the veneration of the Church.

God grant that their prayers may hasten the day when England shall reap the full harvest, sown so long ago in their blood!

The Hours of the Passion.

VESPERS.

O MASTER, let me go !
The air is fair and still,
The dews of sunset steep
The flowers upon the hill ;
All the wild skies are pale,
All the wide earth lies free ;
Let me now wander forth
To dream of love and Thee ;
To linger at my will
Along the purple vales :
There will I find a secret flower,
That all its heart exhales ;—
Its heart to Thee exhales,
Let me go !

I will not let thee go !
This hour is Mine and thine ;
I have made fast the door,
Though thou, My prisoner, pine.
The table I prepare,
With thee I come to sup ;
Bitter the herbs we share,
And bitter is the cup.
I will not let thee go !

COMPLINE.

O Shepherd, let me go !
Under the evening stars :

Within my breast there swells
Music in lines and bars.
I hear a song that calls,
A song of Heaven and Thee ;
Its words are echoes blown
From where the winds sweep free.
Oh, let me out one hour,
One hour of liberty ;
And I will bring Thee back my song,
And sing my song to Thee ;—
My song of Heaven and Thee.
Let me go !

I will not let thee go !
Here art thou closely pent :
With thee is My desire
To seal My testament ;
With Body and Blood I keep
With thee a solemn tryst ;
A song of songs shall be,
A Holy Eucharist.
I will not let thee go !

MATINS.

O Lover, let me go !
This is the hour for sleep :
All tender things of earth
Lie folded soft and deep.
Worn-out am I, and spent,
My heavy eyelids close,
Worse is this weariness
Than slave or captive knows ;
Let me lie down and sleep,
And dream of things divine,
And in the morning wake and lift
A face refreshed to Thine ;—
My face, Beloved, to Thine.
Let me go !

I will not let thee go !
All others are asleep :
The hour is come, when thou
A watch with Me must keep.
What though the fainting heart
Break in unanswered cry ;
What though the life-blood start
In drops of agony ?—
I will not let thee go !

LAUDS.

O Guardian, let me go !
Early my heart has stirred ;
My heart wakes ere the dawn,
As in its nest the bird.
I will go forth alone,
No one on me shall look,
Where the low berries hang
Beside the hidden brook.
Between the dark and dawn
Down meadow-paths I flee,
And home will carry through the dew
A basket filled for Thee ;—
My gathered fruit for Thee.
Let me go !

I will not let thee go !
A thousand lips disgrace,
A thousand eyes of scorn
Fasten upon My face.
Their fingers mock, and point ;—
I need thee, thee alone ;
Give me thine eyes, this hour,
Fixed, fixed upon My own.
I will not let thee go !

PRIME.

O Saviour, let me go!
Who can withstand that cry?
That piercing cry that rings
Where none but foes are nigh;
The moan of scourgèd slave,
The sobs of friendless child,
Oh, let me serve and save
Thy helpless, Thy reviled!
Oh, let me hence in haste,
Thy prisoners to unbind,
Thy famishing and faint to feed,
Thy little ones to find;—
Thy lost, Thy lambs, to find.
Let me go!

I will not let thee go!
Am I then savèd? See!
Pity nor help is none
This hour for Mine or Me.
Mine eyes are blind with blood,
My moan is in thine ear;
Where mangled worms lie low
Thy place is with Me here.
I will not let thee go!

TIERCE.

O Sovereign, let me go!
It is the prime of day;
Fresh flowers I go to find,
I know the cool, green way.
Down in Thy garden grows
The Flower of Silence sweet,
Thy garden of the Rose,
Where all the Roses meet.
Thy Roses wait,—they know
Their secret,—soon to fall;

Their heads bow down, to make a crown,
For Thee, the King of all ;—
To crown Thee King of all.
Let me go !

I will not let thee go !
Nor loose thine iron bands ;
Here am I King, and thou
The victim of My hands.
I wear a crown of thorns,
My raiment drips with red ;
And the same crowning sign
I bind upon thy head.
I will not let thee go !

SEXT.

O Conqueror, let me go !
It is the breadth of noon :
The hum of busy men
Is with the bees in tune.
Their wheel of work goes round,
Thy purpose to fulfil ;
Let me into the world,
Therein to do Thy will ;
But half the day is left,
My labour to complete,
Then will I bring it home at night,
And lay it at Thy feet ;—
My service at Thy feet.
Let me go !

I will not let thee go !
My hands and feet pierced through
With nails behold ! and thine
Therewith are fastened too.
The world lies fair and wide

Outspread beneath this Tree ;
Yet shall it not divide
One moment Me from thee.
I will not let thee go !

NONES.

O Lord, let me not go !
All other things are past :
In Heaven, in earth below,
I see but Thee at last !
Darkness, and deeps of death,—
The sun has gone from space ;
Out of the whole abyss
One star remains,—Thy Face.
Sinking in unknown seas,
Lost from all hope of land,
I seek a Cross to cling unto,
And only find Thy Hand ;—
My Soul is in Thy Hand.
Wilt Thou let go ?

But all is finished now.—
The hours were long and slow ;
Though fast they flew and free
For those I do not know.
But through the night, the day,
Through all the weight of woe,
Thou hast not stirred from Me,
I have not let thee go.
I have not let thee go !

MARIA MONICA.

The Revels and Pageants of Ancient Edinburgh.

Mine own romantic town !

All curious pastimes and conceits,
Could be imaginat by man,
Was to be seen on Edinburgh gaits
Frae time that bravery began :
Ye might have heard on every street
Trim melody and music sweet.¹

THE capital city of Scotland, which an English historian, turning aside from "the broad river of English life," has described as a land "so fertile in genius and chivalry, so fertile in madness and crime," is not primarily associated with innocent festivities and graceful revelries. Yet the fabulous writers of the misty past greatly wronged her when they spoke of her as *Vallis Dolorosa*,² and the late Poet Laureate had never seen "the grey metropolis of the north," of which he wrote so sadly, in the goodly apparel wherewith as befitting a queen she from time to time adorned herself.

Of sorrows and tragedies, hurricanes and plagues, Edinburgh has had her full share. She has known sieges and battles, and broadcast misery since the first burning of her heather-thatched huts by her "auld enemies" from over the Borders to that 10th of September, 1513, when the bells of St. Giles called her panic-stricken citizens to cease from weeping and wailing on the streets, and to "pass into the churches" to pray for the souls of those who lay dead on the Field of Flodden ; or to the 29th of May, 1573, when held by Maitland of Lethington and Kirkcaldy of Grange, the Castle, after a desperate siege, surrendered to the foes of Queen Mary. It is not with the sorrows and the strife of Edinburgh, but with her holidays and rejoicings,

¹ *The Description of the Queen's Maesties maist Honorable entry into the town of Edinburgh upon the 19 Day of May, 1590.* John Bvral.

² See Maitland's *History of Scotland*, p. 1.

that this brief article will deal. It is as "the nobill famous town," the "heych triumphant town" of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, as "mine own romantic town" of Sir Walter Scott, that we would now regard her.

The history of Edinburgh as a royal town has been frequently said to begin in the reign of David I. Rather, it dates from the death of his mother, St. Margaret, "the Queen of earthly queens." On the 16th of November, 1093, clasping the Black Rood of Scotland to her dying lips, and praying "O Lord Jesus Christ, who, by the will of the Father and through the Holy Spirit, by Thy death hast given life unto the world, deliver me," within the Castle of Edinburgh, the *Castrum Puellarum* of the earlier middle ages, the *Mynydd Agned* of the Britons, Margaret yielded up her soul to her Master.¹ Her oratory was the first royal presence-chamber in Edinburgh, and when her body was reverently but hastily (for the savage troops of Donald Bane were hovering near) carried down the Castle rock, "under the sheltering veil of a miraculous mist," that pageant of death was the first procession ever witnessed on her streets.

We have but scanty records of Edinburgh during the brief reigns of the immediate successors of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret. David I., who ascended the throne in the year 1124, called the town *Meum burgum*, and is the first monarch who appears to have occupied the Castle as a residence. For the Black Rood of Scotland, which had comforted the last hours of his mother, he built the Abbey of the Holy Rood, and "our David," as his biographer affectionately calls him, liberally endowed this beloved foundation. The existence of an abbey and a court make very certain that there were periods of high festival and exuberant rejoicings in the town; for not under the ban, but hallowed by the blessing of "Holie Kirk," men were merry and joyful in those old days when the Church of Scotland was "by special grace the daughter of Rome." The light which shone from the carpenter's shop at Nazareth, and glorified the lowliest human toil, shone too from the wedding-feast of Cana of Galilee, where the power of the Son of God once multiplied His own good gift to His children, and where His presence had for ever sanctified innocent human mirth. Throughout the middle ages, under the wing of the Church, *Mysteries, Sacred*

¹ *Life of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland.* By Turgot, Bishop of St. Andrews. Edited by W. Forbes-Leith, S.J.

Comedies, or *Clerk-plays*, which combined amusement with admirable instruction on the history of the Holy Bible, were performed in Edinburgh as in the other important towns.

In a charter of Alexander III. he refers to the "Mayden Castle of Edinburgh," and to "our chamber which is called the chamber of the blessed Queen Margaret." During the happy reign of this king of peace, "that Scotland led in love and le," doubtless Edinburgh enjoyed her share of the "wealth of ale and bread, of wine and wax, of game and glee"¹ then abounding. When on the dark and stormy evening of the 12th of March, 1286, the horse which Alexander was riding along the precipitous sea-coast of Fife stumbled and fell, and the good King was killed on the spot, national rejoicings came to a sudden interruption, and we hear little more of them till the reigns of the Stuarts.

In 1436, the last year of the reign of James I., a Parliament was held in Edinburgh, and after 1456, when Parliaments continued to meet there, the city may be reckoned as the capital of the country.

The Kings of Scotland and their people were ever ready to give hospitable welcome to royal brides, to Papal legates or other ambassadors, and to all illustrious visitors. In 1424, James I. returned from his nineteen years' pleasant captivity in the foreign land of England. He brought with him his bride, Jane Beaufort, the daughter of the Duke of Somerset, brother of Henry IV. of England, "the fairest and the freshest young flower," he says, "that ever I saw."² It was Easter-tide, and Edinburgh combined Paschal festivities with a welcome to the King and Queen.

There was pomp, though it is described as "barbaric pomp," when, in 1449, James II. married Marie, daughter of the Duke of Gueldres, "a lady young, beautiful, and of a masculine constitution."³ "Mountainous and strange is the country, and the people rough and savage," exclaimed the knights of Burgundy, when they left their weeping bride at Holyrood.

In July, 1469, Margaret, daughter of Christiern I., King of Denmark and Norway, who was betrothed to James III., was escorted to her future home by "sindrie bischoppis and nobillmen of Denmark." As security for her dower of 60,000 florins, the

¹ Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*.

² *The King's Quhair*.

³ *The History of the Five Jameses*. By Drummond of Hawthornden, p. 25.

islands of Orkney and Shetland were mortgaged to Scotland, but she brought the better dower of a beautiful character. All we know of her is that "she was singularly good,"¹ and of the wedding which took place at Holyrood we are only told that it was celebrated "with very great joy." The following winter was a lively one for Edinburgh. In November the Queen was crowned, Parliament met, "and the most part of the nobillmen remaint with the king in Edinburgh all the next winter."²

The reign of James IV. was unusually prosperous and peaceable. The King encouraged literature, and "the excellent poet," William Dunbar, appears at the Court of Holyrood as "the Rhymer," or Poet Laureate. When the King was sojourning at Stirling, Dunbar addresses a pathetic entreaty to his master to return to "Edinburgh joy, for to be merry among us." He writes from "Edinburgh with all mirriness, to you in Strivilling in distress," from us who dwelling in Edinburgh "are heirs of Heaven's glory, to you that are in purgatory." Growing more urgent in his entreaties, the poet invokes

The Father, Son, and Holy Gaist,
The merciful Mary, Virgin chaste,
Of angels all the orders nine
And all the Hevingly Court Divine,

to bring the King "fra the paine and wo of Strivilling" again to "Edinburgh's joy and bliss, where worship, wealth, and welfare is." In stronger language still, he prays him to come and dwell "in Heaven," that is in Edinburgh. Among the delights of this abode he will

... eat swan, cran, pertrick and pliver,
And every fish that swims in river,

and

Drink with us the new fresh wine
That grew upon the river of Rhine;
Fresh fragrant clarets out of France.

Finally, after another invocation of the celestial Court, he assures the King

... ye sall cum or Yule begin
Into the bliss that we are in.³

¹ *Kalendars of Scottish Saints.* By Bishop Forbes.

² *History of Scotland.* By John Lesley, Bishop of Ross.

³ *Dirige to the King at Stirling.* William Dunbar.

On the 28th of January, 1502, the betrothal of James IV. of Scotland and Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII. of England and Elizabeth of York, took place at Richmond with great ceremony. James was an exceedingly accomplished man of thirty years, Margaret a spoilt child with the bare rudiments of education. More than a year was allowed to elapse, and on the 16th of June, 1503, Margaret, being in her twelfth year, started from Richmond for her future home. After a long and stately progress, she arrived at Berwick-on-Tweed on the 29th of July; on the 3rd of August she reached Dalkeith; and on the 7th, surrounded by a brilliant concourse of the chivalry of Scotland and England, she entered Edinburgh. Then the joys of the capital which, according to Dunbar, were so transcendent, attained a climax, and he composed a beautiful *Epithalamium*, "The Thistle and the Rose."

Betimes on the morning of the 7th the little bride left Dalkeith. She reclined on a litter, and wore "a rich gown of cloth of gold, with a purfle of black velvet, and a rich collar of pearl and stone." Behind her litter was led her "palfrey of honour," and following were her lords and ladies "very richly appointed and mounted, that it was a fair sight." Meanwhile, the King had started from Holyrood to meet her. He wore cloth of gold, a doublet of violet satin, scarlet hose, a shirt embroidered with pearls, his spurs "long and gilt," and his bay horse was caparisoned in cloth of gold. When he met the procession of the Princess he leapt from his horse, and kissed her in her litter. A courser had been brought specially to carry the King and his bride, but James prudently experimented with a gentleman behind him, and judging that the animal objected to two riders, he mounted the Queen's more tractable palfrey, "and the said Queen behind him, and so rode through the said town of Edinburgh." Before entering the city, however, there were various diversions to be enjoyed. Half a mile from the city gates, on a green meadow, was exhibited a pageant "in which was mixed up both drama, joust, and tournay." This diversion over, a hart was let loose and a greyhound after him, and "the said hart won the town."

Even now we can recall the scene which on that August morning, nearly four hundred years ago, the high street of Edinburgh witnessed. Multitudes on horse or foot thronged round and round; from the windows and balconies and staircases, hung with tapestries, leaned lords and ladies, and

burgesses and their wives gazing on the royal procession as it slowly passed onward to the Church of the Holy Rood. The bells of the High Kirk of St. Giles and of every steeple in the city rang peals of joy, mingling with the shouts of the people and the music of minstrels and trumpeters. The central figure was the noble young King, and behind him on the palfrey he so gracefully reined was the plump little child-bride, almost lost beneath her heavy robes of velvet and cloth of gold. Immediately in front rode the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Moray, and the Earl Bothwell, the latter bearing the sword of state, sheathed in purple velvet. The processions of the Religious Orders—with sombre grey and brown habits, contrasted well with the lords spiritual and temporal in crimson velvet gowns, and the two hundred mounted barons in cloth of gold, or velvet and damask of every colour. As the royal pair entered the city gate, "came in procession the Grey Friars with the Cross, and some relics which were given to the King and Queen to kiss. Afterwards appeared the Jacobins, also bearing relics to be kissed." Within the gate was "made a yett of wood painted, with two towrells, and a window in the midst. In the towrells at the window revested angels singing joyously for the coming of so noble a lady, and an angel presented the keys of the city to the Queen." Then came "the College of the Parish of St. Giles, richly revested, with the arm of that Saint," and after kissing the relic the King slackened his reins, and began to sing *Te Deum laudamus: te Dominum confitemur*. At the Market Cross a fountain poured forth wine, and all who would drank thereat. And here there was on one scaffold a strange combination. Mercury and sundry other personages well known in heathen mythology figured on one side of the structure; "the Salutation of the Angel Gabriel to the Virgin in saying *Ave Gratia*," and the "Solemnization of the very marriage of the said Virgin and Joseph," on the other. But the greatest achievement was a ponderous representation of the virtues, Justice, Force, Temperance, and Prudence. Each virtue held an appropriate symbol, while at the feet of each respectively sprawled Nero, Holofernes, Epicurus, and Sardanapalus. Thus slowly, pausing before each spectacle which the good town had with infinite labour and expense created for their edification, the King and Queen rode down the street, and reached the Church of the Holy Rood. Here they were met by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, his cross borne before him, by the Bishop of

Aberdeen, Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, the Bishops of Orkney, Caithness, Ross, Dunblane, and Dunkeld, and many Abbots, all in their pontificals. The King kissed the relics offered him by the Archbishop, then the company dismounted, and as the King and Queen entered the church, the choir of the chapel thundered forth *Te Deum laudamus*.

The next morning all Edinburgh was early astir, and in readiness before nine o'clock, for it was the King's wedding-day. James IV. appeared in "a gown of white damask figured with gold, and a black bonnet." Margaret also wore white damask, bordered with crimson velvet, a crown on her head, and her hair hanging down to her feet, and the noble ladies were "richly arrayed in gowns of cloth of gold, or of crimson or black velvet and damask." The Archbishop of Glasgow performed the marriage ceremony, the Archbishop of York read the Papal Bulls consenting thereto.

Before the Canon of the Mass the Queen was anointed, the King gave her the sceptre, and the choir sang the *Te Deum*.

At the banquet after the marriage the viands seem to have been more substantial than elegant. Among twelve dishes, Margaret was served with "wild boar's head," then with a piece of brawn, and a gambon. Music accompanied the feast, and a song of the Poet Laureate's was sung :

Welcome the rose both red and white,
Welcome the Flower of our delight,
Our sprite rejoicing from the spleen,
Welcome in Scotland to be Queen.¹

For days afterwards the festivities continued. These were merry festivals for ancient Edinburgh, and yet how soon the scene was to change! The pretty child-Queen was ere long to develop into the coarse, sensual, money-loving, and unhappy woman, and in ten short years the chivalry of Scotland and of England were to meet again, but it was when the Blue Blanket was unfurled, and on a bloody battlefield. The marriage of James Stuart and Margaret Tudor was to lead one hundred and one years later to the union of the thrones, and one hundred and four years afterwards to the union of the nations. Before the first event were Flodden and Solway Moss, before the second the campaign of Henry VIII., the hurricane of the Reformation, the Great Hall of Fotheringay, a Rebellion and a Revolution.

¹ *Lelandi Antiquarii de rebus Britannicis Collectanea.*

Diligent preparations were made for the next royal reception in Edinburgh, but the festivities so lavishly prepared were destined never to take place. On the 1st of January, 1537, James V. and Magdalene, the daughter of Francis I. of France, were married in Paris in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. "The pleasant Magdalene," "the sweet flower of France," was dying of consumption. The winter was spent in Paris, and in May the King and his bride crossed the narrow seas "with pleasant winds and prosperous voyage," and made the port of Leith on the 19th of the month. When the young Queen stepped ashore she fell on her knees, and kissed the Scottish earth for the love she bore the King. "Earls, bishops, lords, barons, and others" received them "with exceeding great blythness," and they were with triumph "convoyit to the Abbey of Holyroodhouse." Magdalene "brought ane infinite substance" of gold and silver cupboards, silver plate, sumptuous apparel and jewels for herself and "her Maries," and the good city of Edinburgh resolved that she also would don her sumptuous apparel to welcome the daughter of Francis I. Alas, all her preparations were in vain. Poor Magdalene rapidly became worse, and on the 10th of July, forty days after her arrival at Leith, and within forty days of the completion of her seventeenth year, her fragile body was laid in the royal vault of Holyrood. Another Poet Laureate, Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lord Lyon King of Arms, wrote *The Deploration of the death of Quene Magdalene*. Addressing Death he says :

Thief! sawst thou not the preparation
Of Edinburgh, the noble, famous town,
Thou sawst the people, labouring for their lives
To make triumph with trump and clarion.

Thou sawst making right costly scaffolding
Depainted well, with gold and azure fine
Ready prepared for the upsetting,
With fountains flowing water clear and wine.

He proceeds to speak of the procession that was to have been :

Provost, baillies, and Lordis of the town,
The Senators, in order consequent,
Clad into silk of purple, black and brown
Syne the great Loidis of the Parliament,

378 *Revels and Pageants of Ancient Edinburgh.*

With many knightly baron and banrent
In silk, and gold, in colours comfortable
But, thou alas ! all turned into sable.

Then of the lords spiritual, and "Princes of the Priests," and finally of Magdalene :

Under ane pall of gold she should have passed,
By burgesses borne, clothed in silkis fine.

And he grieves over the banqueting and "awful tournaments," the "craftie musick" of the Chapel Royal that might have been :

But all this great solemnity and game
Turned thou hast *In Requiem Eternam*.¹

When, in 1538, James V.'s second wife, Marie, widow of the Duke of Longueville and daughter of Claud of Lorraine, entered Edinburgh, she and the King were "honourably received, with great triumph, in the Castle, and in the town, and also in the Palace ; where they were honourably propined and richly, with the Provost and Community of the town, both with spices and wine, gold and silver, and also great triumphs, farces and plays, made unto the Queen's Grace on the expences of the said town."²

In 1543, the Patriarch of Venice arrived in Scotland as Papal Legate. He spent the winter in Edinburgh, "and held ane very honourable house." He evidently entertained at home or received hospitality every day of his sojourn in the northern city. The Earl of Moray devised a singularly extravagant and childish display for the astonishment of the Patriarch. He invited him to a banquet, and "for the greater magnificence he set forth ane cupboard furnished with all sorts of glasses of the finest crystal, and to make the said Patriarch to understand that there was great abundance thereof in Scotland he caused one of his servants as it had been by sloth and negligence, pull down the cupboard cloth so that all the whole crystillings suddenly were cast down to the earth, and broken, wherewith the Patriarch was very sorry, but the Earl suddenly caused bring ane other cupboard better furnished with fine crystal nor that was ; which the Patriarch praised as well for the magnificence of the Earl, as for the fineness of the crystal, affirming

¹ *The Deploration of the death of Quene Magdalene.* Sir David Lyndsay.

² *Lindsay of Pitcottie's Chronicle.*

that he never did see better in Venice, where he himself was born."¹

During the minority of Mary Stuart we hear comparatively little of festivities in the capital. On the 12th of April, 1554, her mother, Marie of Lorraine, became Regent, and a month later Sir David Lyndsay's play, *The Three Estates*, which lasted "fra nine hours before noon, till six hours at even," was performed, apparently for the last time, before the Regent and Commons on the Play-field at Edinburgh.

In the winter of 1558, heresy was fast gaining ground, and the Regent, to counteract the tendency to religious excitement, "past all the rest of that winter in sumptuous and magnificent banqueting, which she caused the lords make severelie in Edinburgh."² But it was too late. Even stronger measures than Marie of Lorraine's were in vain, for on the 2nd of March, 1559, the last Provincial Council of the Church of Scotland met, and made final strenuous efforts at internal reformation which were to prove unavailing. In August, 1561, Mary, Queen of Scotland, and Dowager Queen of France, was expected in Edinburgh. Despite the dismal croakings of John Knox, and the lamentable prognostications of the Lords of the Congregation, the good city was desirous to give the sovereign lady a hearty welcome home. But Mary made a quicker passage than was usual, and when at six o'clock, on the morning of the 19th of August, the guns of her galleys were heard sounding through the mist which hung over the Firth of Forth, the citizens were taken by surprise. Doubtless the civic dignitaries were heartily ashamed of themselves when, instead of a stately deputation to the port of Leith, a few thin palfreys, miserably caparisoned, awaited to convey the Queen and her illustrious escort to Holyrood. The Palace was not "throughly put in order." The poor Queen, wearied by her journey, weeping with shame at her squalid reception, had her rooms hastily prepared upon the ground floor, and though sorely in need of a good night's rest, she was disturbed part of the night by five or six well-intentioned but mistaken citizens who sat under her window, and sang Psalms accompanied by instruments out of tune. "Is any one merry, let him sing Psalms," said one of the Maries, and the Queen's sad retort was, "This is no place for mirth." Yes, the days of real mirth were indeed over, but according to the lights it then possessed, Edinburgh was already

¹ Lesley, p. 179.

² *Ibid.* p. 269.

preparing to make amends for the shortcomings of the 19th of August. On Sunday, the 31st of the month, the Queen's French uncles were entertained to "ane honourable banquet," and a few days later an elaborate pageant was devised on the occasion of presenting the Sovereign Lady with a cupboard of silver gilt. When the day for the presentation arrived, the Queen, accompanied by many of her nobles, and with the magistrates resplendent in "gowns of fine black velvet," "doublets of cramosie satin" and velvet bonnets, rode in state from Holyrood to the Castle. She dined there at twelve o'clock, and loudly saluted by the guns, she again rode forth under a canopy of purple velvet. On the Castle hill "ane convoy" of fifty young men clad in yellow taffety, and with their skins blackened to resemble Moors, preceded "ane cart with certain bairns together with ane coffer, wherein was the cupboard and propyne." At the Butter Tron on a wooden erection were "singing certain bairns in the maist heavenlie ways; . . . there was ane cloud opening with four leaves; in the quhilk was put ane bonnie bairn; . . . the said cloud opened, and the bairn descended down as it had been ane angel, and delivered to her Highness the keys of the town together with ane Bible and ane Psalm Buik covered with fine purple velvet; . . ." The next halt took place at the Tolbooth, where stood four "fair virgins," "all clad in maist precious attirement" and representing Fortitude, Justice, Temperance, and Prudence. After "ane little speech" here, the Queen reached the Market Cross, where "other fair virgins," "clad in the maist heavenlie clothing," proceeded to act an allegory. Healths were drunk and glasses were broken, and the procession moved on to the Salt Tron. Here some zealous Protestants had, with shameful indecency, suggested the device of a priest burnt at the altar, in the act of elevating the Host, but this was forbidden by the Earl of Huntly, who bore the sword of state in the procession, and the destruction of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram was figured instead. This proved, we are told, to the "seeming content of both sides, the Reformers regarding it as an example of God's vengeance upon idolatry, the Roman Catholics as an example of God's vengeance upon those who took the priesthood upon themselves without authority." The last stage was at the Nether Bow, where a dragon delivered an address, and was then set on fire, and burned during the singing of a Psalm. At length Holyrood was reached, and the bairns in the cart made a speech concern-

ing the putting away of the Mass, and sang a Psalm. The Town Councillors entered the Palace with the Queen, and in her outer chamber presented the cupboard "quhilk was double over-gilt, the price thereof was two thousand merks."¹ Whilst Queen Mary devoted hours to the affairs of state, she did not neglect her social duties, and her fulfilment of these brought down on her the wrath of the "godly," as the Protestants called themselves. "Her common speech in secret was, she saw nothing in Scotland but gravitie, which she could not agree well with, for she was brought up in joyousetie: so termed she dancing, and other things thereto belonging."² Indeed, there was dancing and singing in the courts of old Holyrood throughout the brief years of Mary's sojourn there. Yule-tide and Fastren's Eve were ever merry times, and whenever good news arrived from France, "then," says John Knox, "began dancing to grow hot." On the 26th of May, 1563, Mary opened her first Parliament in person, in the Tolbooth. "God save that sweet face! Was there ever orator spoke so properly or so sweetly," was the cry that rang through the hall when she began to speak. "Such stynchen pride of women as was seen at that Parliament," says Knox, "was never seen before in Scotland." That is, the ladies went in full dress, and though the trades of the city were profiting by the presence of the Court, the ministers were preaching at the women for the "targatting of their tails, and against the rest of their vanitie, which they affirmed would provock God's vengeance . . . against the whole realme."³ When, on the 29th of July, 1565, Mary Stuart married Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, at Holyrood, there were certain festivities. When, on the 15th of May, 1567, she married Bothwell, we are briefly told that there was no mirth that "woful wedding-day."⁴

This is not the place to enumerate the gloomy laws which after the fall of the Hierarchy the Kirk passed against national amusements. The capital suffered with the rest of the land, and if any one dared to play Robin Hood within her gates he might pay for his game with his life. May-day sports ("ony wemen or uthers about simmer trees singund") were forbidden. Penalties were provided for those who observed Christmas or any other festival, and the Lord's day was the favourite one for a rigorous

¹ *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents.* From MS. of the sixteenth century. Printed by Bannatyne Club.

² Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland.*

³ *History of the Reformation.* John Knox.

⁴ *Diurnal of Occurrents.*

fast. Well might the poet exclaim, "Where is the blythness that has been?" "All mirriness is worn away."¹

The entertainments in Edinburgh during the reign of James VI. were characteristic of the King and of the age. To describe them all would be wearisome, and the welcome home of his bride, Anna, sister of Christian IV., King of Denmark and Norway, was typical of them all.

Before making up his mind to wed this Princess, the King told his Council "how he had been praying and avisen with God for a fortnight, and that in consequence he was resolvit to" take her. The embassies despatched for the lady met with unheard-of calamities, owing, it was believed, to the malice of various gangs of Scottish and Danish witches. Finally, the King set off in person for his future wife. The marriage was celebrated at Opslo, in Norway, on the 24th of November, 1589, and not till May-day, 1590, did the royal pair land at Leith. James immediately set about preparations for a festive coronation of the Queen at Holyrood. He wrote to the Council: "A King of Scotland with a new married wife will not come home every day." He was in dire poverty, and we find him begging for "the loan of some silver spoons to grace his marriage-feast" from one subject, and "the loan of a pair of silk stockings" from another. "Ye wad na that your King should appear a scrub on sic an occasion," he pathetically pleaded. By the 6th of May all was ready, and the town thoroughly cleaned; on great occasions persons who kept their pigs under their stairs were now required to remove them. Accordingly on that day the Queen in her coach drawn by eight horses, the King preceding her on horseback, entered Edinburgh, with a goodly escort of Scottish and Danish nobles, and of civic dignitaries. On the 17th of May the Queen was crowned at Holyrood by the Minister, Robert Bruce, who also anointed her, pouring on her breast and arm "a bonnie quantitie of oil." The dreary service dragged on from ten in the morning till five in the afternoon. Three sermons were preached, one in Latin, one in French, and one in English, and Andrew Melville "made ane oration in twa hundred Latin verses, a *Stephaniskion*." On May 19th the Queen made a grand progress through the city in her "gold coach." There were the usual Latin speeches, the usual angelic boy delivered the silver keys of the city, the nine muses sang Psalms, and

¹ Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington.

Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, and Temperance figured at the Tolbooth. The Queen entered St. Giles, and when she came forth the Goddess of Corn and Wine, seated at a table covered with gold and silver cups, loudly proclaimed that in Anna's time there should be abundance of corn and wine. Close by, Bacchus was astride on a puncheon of wine "winking," and casting cups full of wine right and left, while the Cross "ran claret wine upon the causeway for the loyaltie of that day." At the Salt Tron all the preceding kings of Scotland appeared, one of them lying prostrate "as if he had been sick." As the Queen approached he revived, got up, and delivered a Latin oration. The proceedings terminated in the presentation to the Queen of a box covered with purple velvet, whereon was wrought in diamonds a large A for Anna, containing the generous gift of the city, 20,000 crowns.¹

When, in May, 1617, James VI. of Scotland, now also James I. of England, re-visited his native land, the entertainments lent more to the intellectual than the material. As His Majesty entered the west port, the Deputy Town Clerk uttered a ponderous oration, assuring him ". . . our eyes behold the greatest human felicity, which is to feed upon our true Phoenix, the bright star of our northern firmament," and declaring that "the very hills and groves," accustomed to be refreshed by the dew of his presence, had become pale, and were reduced to misery. On the whole, "The Muses' Welcome to the High and Mighty Prince James" was in this strain, but one beautiful poem at least greeted him, "Forth Feasting," of Drummond of Hawthornden.

On the 15th of June, 1633, Charles I. visited the land of his birth, where we find the old style of heavy allegory still prevailing. Caledonia welcomed him to Edinburgh in verse, Mars, Mercury, and Minerva disported in the Elysian fields, the inevitable Bacchus presided at his fountain of wine, and on Parnassus hill "nine pretty boys" personated the nine Muses. On the 18th of June, Charles was crowned at Holyrood, "the most glorious and magnifiqu coronatione that ever was seen in this kingdome, and the first King of Great Britain that ever was crowned in Scotland."²

The restoration of the monarchy was hailed in Edinburgh

¹ See *Papers relative to the marriage of King James VI. of Scotland with the Princess Anna of Denmark* (Bannatyne Club) and Moysie's *Memoirs*.

² Balfour's *Annals*, vol. ii.

with boisterous mirth. The most original part of the loyal revels consisted in "the effigies of Oliver Cromwell being set upon a pole and the devil upon another upon the Castle Hill ; it was ordered by firework, engine, and train, that the devil did chase that traitor till he blew him in the air."¹

The Duke of York, afterwards James VII., and his wife, Mary Beatrice of Modena, spent the winters of 1680-81 at Holyrood. Most thankful were the citizens to see the palace of their ancient kings once more lit up and inhabited. The Princess Anne, afterwards Queen Anne, joined the party in July, 1680. There were balls and masquerades in the Palace, and "tea, for the first time heard of in Scotland, was given as a treat by the Princesses to the Scottish ladies who visited at the abbey,"² while the Duke made himself specially popular when he played golf on the Links of Leith.

The days of the royal festivities of ancient Edinburgh were numbered. Soon the "Ryding of the Parliament," the stateliest and most characteristic pageant that ever passed along her streets, was to be a tradition of the past. The very sun and centre of this great feudal ceremony were the Royal Honours, the Crown, the Sceptre, and the Sword of State. Before the honours, behind them, around them, were marshalled nobles, bishops, and barons, members of Parliament, senators, heralds, riding in due order and array to the House of Parliament. On the 25th of March, 1707, these honours were carried from the House never again to return "the palladium of the nation's imperial independence." Years were yet to elapse till there was only "The Echo of the Royal Porch of the Palace of Holyrood House, which fell under military Execution Anno 1755," to recall the vanished voice, or "till the last speech and dying words of the Cross of Edinburgh on Monday, the 15th March, 1756," were to be uttered, yet turning sadly from the city gates there was a sense in which the patriotic Scot could exclaim, "Adieu, Edinburgh, thou high triumphant town !"

M. G. J. KINLOCH.

¹ *Diary of Public Transactions.* John Nicoll.

² *Archæologia Scotica.*

Early English Catholic Hymnody.

I.

CATHOLIC HYMNODY, in a language which may be enjoyed by the average reader at sight, without the aid of a glossary of Middle English, took its rise, almost to a year, three centuries ago. At the date at which the more devout of their Protestant fellow-countrymen were mainly occupied, hymnologically, with paraphrasing into metre the common forms of religion, translating from the German of Luther, or adapting the words of the Royal and Jewish Psalmist, the persecuted remnant of the Old Faith in England were acting in a different temper and spirit. They believed that Holy Church was the authority, that her writers were the agents, and that her books were the sources towards which they should look for their devotions in verse and in the vernacular. Hence, at the end of the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth century, English Catholics were engaged in rendering into their mother-tongue the poetical treasures in sacred song of the Saints and Doctors of the past eleven or twelve hundred years. Hymns which either had been expressly written for Divine worship, or had been consecrated to such usage in and from the ages of faith, by St. Ambrose and St. Gregory, by Prudentius and Sedulius, by Venantius Fortunatus, Jacopone da Todi, and St. Thomas Aquinas, were done, and as a whole were certainly well done, at their various dates of rendering, from the Latin language into the common English of the period.

Catholics, therefore, in the happy if somewhat severe rivalry which exists amongst different schools for the honours of hymnody, and amid the doubtful, not to say the unverifiable statements which are current on the history of hymns, have a definite position to assume and to defend. They may justly claim to be pioneers in popularizing for the English people of the later middle ages one important side of the national taste for hymns—a side of the development in psalmody which,

ecclesiastically speaking, is the higher, namely, the ancient side. And as Catholics, historically, were the pioneers in the reproduction of their own sacred verse, from their own sacred rites, in a language which was not sacred, but national and understood of the people; so have they probably, from a poetical standpoint, been the most successful of the translators, and certainly beyond comparison and from the first, the most lavish and laborious workers in this section of the hymnological vineyard. The creators of the new Church of England, indeed, and the early Reformers, were content to translate two or three Catholic hymns direct from the Latin, and a few at second hand from the Fatherland, into the vulgar tongue; yet, none but Catholics have consistently rendered the whole of the Breviary and Missal hymns immediately into English from original sources. This remark applies to the hymns of the Roman Offices. Possibly, in a wider sense, one exception may be found in *Lauda Syon* (1857), by the late Mr. John David Chambers, an Anglican gentleman. This volume contains many translations from the Offices of the "English and other Churches;" but the selection, though of value and beauty, is arbitrary. It may even be said that none but a series of Catholic authors have executed this literary feat and performed this labour of love, at successive stages and at different dates, as the hymnody of the sacred offices was gradually enlarged. At least four authors could be named within the last half-century, or thereabouts, who have diligently and successfully rendered all the hymns employed in Divine worship in England. The like number of authors, though they cannot all be named, did the same poetic service to the Church in the seventeenth century. Whilst others, in both eras, either improved upon the versions of their predecessors, or utilized their powers to a less degree in translating a portion only of the Breviary and Missal hymns.

Of the conspicuous success which attended the efforts of these translators, whether they be early or late, two proofs may be mentioned. The one consists in the large number of different works, whether Office books or books of private devotion, containing hymns in the vernacular, that issued from the press, at home and abroad, secretly or publicly, in days when printing was costly and readers were few, and when the issue of Catholic books was made difficult if not dangerous; and also, in the large number of editions which were printed, without exception,

of each book in popular demand. This proof will become evident later on in the present article; though it may be here premised that the number of devotional books issued by Catholics in the years which followed the Reformation was largely in excess of the actual needs of the members of the old religion;¹ and that it has been estimated by a student that of one Primer not fewer than thirty editions were printed down to the year 1780, and that forty-six editions of the Manual were required down to 1819.² Both these books will demand our attention later on. The other proof of the success which attended Catholic hymnody, is exhibited in too many instances to allow of a doubt to remain of the fact, and in too many cases to be quoted in this place. It is evidenced by Protestants themselves, in the kind of flattery which, being inarticulate, is the least insincere, viz., by copying more or less exact, and by imitation more or less unconscious. Conviction on this point may be gained by a critical comparison and contrast of the newer with the older versions of translated hymns.

The hymnological efforts of the Catholic minority in England divide themselves readily into two wide areas in relation to time, and into four distinct classes in regard to verse. Mainly, but by no means exclusively, as has been said, Catholic hymnody in the vernacular has been centered in, though not confined to, the reproduction of ancient hymns bearing the imprimatur of Holy Church. And this law holds good, especially in the first two of the historical areas of English Catholic psalmody. But, modern hymns also were composed and written in its early days, though their larger development in later years is due, possibly in part and in this case, to the beneficent infection of Protestant example; and in part, assuredly, to the taste, refinement, and demand of the modern mind. Of the four different hymnological efforts which flourished in Catholic latitudes in England since the Reformation, the earliest one was devoted to the reproduction of ancient hymns only, in books of a liturgical form chiefly. This effort was followed after a while by a second

¹ It is possible, of course, that another theory may be true, and that the number of the faithful, who did not bow the knee to Baal, was always far in excess of the number usually supposed by Protestant historians. This and many other points in the story of the Reformation require the white light of truth to be turned upon them.

² The large number of editions of Catholic prayer-books was not confined to the Primer and Manual. Copies have passed through the writer's hands of *Bona Mors* and *Method of saying the Rosary*, both of which were published in 1770. The first book had then reached its eleventh edition, and the latter its twenty-second.

effort, in which the same class of hymns, in English, namely, those from ancient sources, were introduced into books of a non-liturgical character, or of an only partially liturgical form. Thirdly, individual authors composed single hymns which were issued apparently as leaflets, or as broadsides (as we should say); or they added a single, or more than a single, hymn to an ascetic volume not out of harmony therewith; or they printed volumes of verse in which hymns, or other religious poetry, found a place, if the books were not entirely religious in scope. And lastly, collections of hymns were made and published, either by one hand or many hands, designed by their authors and editors either for public use or for private edification, or meant to be utilized as quarries or storehouses, from which verse materials for the construction of hymnals of the future might be obtained.

Of course, this four-fold division of modern hymnody of a Catholic origin does not aspire to be an exhaustive one. The various classes of books, roughly included in four categories, often overlap each other; wide exceptions are found to exist in practice; singular combinations defy analysis; certain volumes include various forms of hymns; and the same class of hymns find a home in different kinds of books. Thus, some modern hymns appear in books of a liturgical cast: some books contain ancient liturgic hymns which are intended for private or domestic use only; and some works containing hymns both modern and ancient, decline to arrange themselves in literary line with any other description of work. For instance, to quote a few where many might be named: Horst's *Paradise of the Soul* (1720, 1771), a non-liturgical book of devotion, is enriched with many translations of Office hymns; John Austin's *Devotions in the Ancient Way of Offices* (1668) contains some beautiful modern hymns, both original and selected; the translations of St. Augustine's *Confessions* (1679) and the *Manual* attributed to the Saint (1631) are both supplemented with different versions of *Ad perennis Vitæ fontem*, by Cardinal Damiani; a small thick volume of *Meditations*, in the three ascetic Ways, for the use of the students of the English College of Lisbon (1663), contains a translation of *Veni Creator*, which was reprinted in the *Primer* of 1685; and to the text in English of the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass (1687) is added a version of *Dies Iræ*.

These, then, speaking generally, are the four classes of books

in which are to be found the Catholic hymns written or translated during the last three hundred years: (1) liturgical books; (2) devotional books of a non-liturgical character; (3) volumes of original poetry, including some or many hymns; and (4) collections of hymns, usually by different authors and mainly intended for public usage—in a word, hymn-books. And the areas of time in which these various kinds of books appeared, containing the Catholic contribution to English hymnology, may be divided with approximate exactitude into two periods, the first period extending over two centuries, and the last extending over only one. The first begins, as we have seen, at the close of the sixteenth century, and ends, as an expert says, almost with the eighteenth, *i.e.*, from 1599 to 1780. This area is mainly monopolized by liturgical books and ancient hymns; but though there be issued in these centuries individual books containing hymns which are suitable for singing in public worship, and indeed are or have been thus sung, yet nothing in the nature of what we understand by a modern hymn-book was therein published. The second period begins with the last quarter of the eighteenth century and continues to the present day. In this modern hymnological division of time, although ancient hymns are by no means ignored—for the Office hymns in both the Missal and Breviary have been continually re-translated—and though certain liturgical books are systematically reproduced; yet the general drift and tendency of Catholic hymnody of the day inclines, perhaps more decidedly than to other forms, to the issue of collections of miscellaneous hymns, and to the publication of volumes of original religious poetry of the nature of hymns. It is with the earlier period, which succeeded to the crisis of the Reformation, and with the first three divisions of hymnological books only of the four which have been named, that the present inquiry is concerned.

It may be convenient at this point to make two avowals as to the course which the inquiry into Catholic hymnody will take in the following pages. In the first place, it is well to advise the reader that no effort will be made here to estimate critically the books, or their authors, or their contents, which must be dryly catalogued. The efforts of the inquirer will be satisfied if he may describe, in some sort of historical sequence, a portion only of the results which have been effected by means of authors and printers in that department of Catholic literature which concerns hymns. To venture to pronounce critically upon such

results when they have been indicated, to attempt to gauge their value, to note their failure, or to compare the excellence or worthlessness of one effort with another—this does not enter into the writer's plan. He would be incompetent for the task, the space at disposal would be inadequate, and an attempt to this end, probably, will be made some day by a stronger pen. This caution may be needful to prevent misapprehension; and another is only less necessary. It is this: that even a brief historical summary can only be partially and incompletely essayed in this place, and that with the aid of experts. Hymnology is a wide subject, in spite of the scope and area of the present inquiry being limited to a certain kind of hymnody and to a given space of time. Catholic hymns possess their own peculiar elements of difficulty in treatment; and three centuries, specially three which have been greatly influenced by the printing-press, is a long period of time to deal with. It is a subject hard to exhaust, because of the absence of any trustworthy records of publication, or the number of editions issued of the majority of works, and by reason of the scarcity at the present day of copies of the older and more valuable books. Still, within the limits indicated and with the help of earlier students, something may be done to estimate Catholic labour in this direction; and perhaps the titles of a considerable number of books, together with a summary of their contents and the names of their authors in some cases, which have contributed to the hymnology of the Catholic minority in England, may at the least be catalogued and annotated more or less concisely.

But, the reader must bear in mind some of the difficulties which beset the inquirer, with a view to excuse the poverty of his performance. The chief difficulty experienced by the student is to obtain material for the discussion, and trustworthy information concerning the items of inquiry—specially in the case of books issued during the times of persecution. Of course, in the early days of issue, the author's name was generally withheld, and even when divulged, the name, if it were not a fictitious one, now conveys but little. But there is the further obstacle in the inquirer's path, of ascertaining definitely what books were actually printed. Catholic books of devotion, for obvious reasons, are collected into no one all-containing library; they are only to be found as exceptional literature in the catalogue of the Library of the British Museum. Catholic books of the last three centuries possess no central resting-place towards

which each volume of the collection as it appears of necessity gravitates, and wherein, once installed, they may be consulted with facilities for examination and reference. No; such is not the case with the literature of the adherents of the Old Faith. Produced under disabilities, disseminated with difficulty, used in secrecy, and used oftentimes to the last gasp of paper, thread, and binding, the works of devotion which formed a portion of such literature were kept by their owners so long as they were worth keeping, and then disappeared—whither, none can say. No doubt copies of pious books were for their own sake, and not for purposes of use, religiously preserved by Catholic Colleges and Seminaries; in the libraries of Catholic monasteries and convents; in the presses and aumbries of the country houses of the Catholic landed gentry (in which the writer has made discoveries); in the presbyteries of the Catholic priesthood (by whom they were handed down as heirlooms); in the cottages of the Catholic artisans and labourers (whence they sometimes eventually emerge). Now and then specimens, so to say, come into the market. Upon the decease or ruin of their original owners, they often reach the shelves of the auction-room, or the book-list of the second-hand seller. Then these treasures of the past, with hardly an appreciable commercial value, are subjected to the eager competition of Catholic bibliophiles, who, after rescuing them from an ignominious fate, are unfortunately not always careful to relegate these records of the past to the safe-keeping for posterity of some religious house. Hence it comes to pass, that units of this class of literature have become extremely difficult to obtain—for the British colonies and America vie with their nearer relations for the possession of these books—and are not always easy to borrow even, for purposes of examination or comparison. It is true that the owners, or custodians, are invariably kind and courteous towards inquirers upon definite questions being asked; but the student has first to know what devotional treasures may be hid away in any given library before inquiry can be made; and this knowledge, preliminary to further questions, it is not always easy or possible to obtain. Thus, in an investigation like the present, indirect information is sometimes the only evidence obtainable, and knowledge which falls short of personal assurance is the only approximation to truth which can be offered. Bearing these causes of doubt and imperfection in mind, the reader will be pleased not to expect more than the

writer professes to afford in dealing with a subject which is only somewhat complicated and involved from the absence of trustworthy details.

This apologetic and explanatory parenthesis having been interposed, the progress, with certain details, of Catholic hymnody in England during the first of the two periods indicated above, namely, the major part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, may now be described in outline.

I. At the very beginning of the seventeenth century, if Advent in the ecclesiastical calendar be the guide, or to be exact, in the civil year 1599, appeared the first of a series of liturgical works in English, which, in addition to the normal contents of the Layman's Prayer-book,¹ as it was formerly called, of that date was supplemented by an appendix, including a version from the Breviary of the Vesper hymns for the year, in the language of the day. This book was the Primer,² or Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary; and of this Primer, whether in Latin and English on opposite pages, or in English alone as the later books were issued, together with this hymnological addendum, not fewer than four several editions were published within the course of a century. These four editions were the product of various printing-presses at home or abroad; and were each supplied with a different rendering in the vernacular of the "Church-hymns," which ranged from a rather rough seventeenth century translation in the earliest edition to a polished and cultured modern version in the last. These

¹ Those who are interested in old Catholic devotional literature, may like to be reminded that a fifteenth century Primer has lately been copied, edited and printed, by Mr. Henry Littlehales, and published by the Early English Text Society, in two parts. The printed edition repeats the text of a selected Cambridge MS., which is supposed to be a good specimen of the book, and which contains only the indispensable elements of a Primer, without additions. The volume has been very carefully reproduced, is illustrated with several facsimiles in photography, and the second part is enriched by a learned essay, from the pen of Mr. Edmund Bishop, on the Origin of the Primer. Its title is as follows: *The Primer, or Lay-Folks' Prayer-Book*, from a MS. about 1420 to 1430 A.D. in the University Library, Cambridge.

² An independent and interesting article on the Primer may be consulted with advantage by the reader, under the heading "Primers and Offices—Roman Primers," in Dr. Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, from the pen of Rev. H. L. Bennett. The author, in the course of his paper, speaks of an "entire Breviary" having been published in English during the eighteenth century, and this statement is repeated in other parts of the Dictionary. This statement, it is believed by the present writer, is a mistake, founded on a confusion between the Divine Office in English, which contained Mass and Vespers, and the Breviary. The honour of having first produced, in 1879, at the cost of untold labour and time, a rendering into the vernacular of the whole of the Breviary, is due to Lord Bute.

editions were issued respectively, in 1599 at Antwerp; in 1615 at Mechlin, and reprinted at St. Omer's; in 1673 again at St. Omer's, by a different printer; and in 1706, without any place of issue being named, but probably in London. Each edition of these Primers was reprinted more than once; some of the Primers were reproduced, within the seventeenth century, several times; and all of them were published anonymously, though the authors, or part-authors, of two of the Primers are objects of warm and keen controversy in hymnological circles. Of these four editions, it may be noted that the hymns of the first two versions are translated from the unreformed and original texts; and that those of the last two versions are done into English from the revised transcripts made by Casimir Sarbiewski, and other poets, by the command of Pope Urban VIII., in the seventeenth century. And further, it is worthy to be named, that the last edition of the four Primers includes, as a supplement to the Vesper hymns, "the remaining hymns of the Roman Breviary," as they existed at that date. More than one of these four editions can be traced into the following, the eighteenth, century. The edition of 1599 was reproduced so late as 1720. A copy of the Primer of 1706—all the hymns of which are probably, as some of them are certainly, of the seventeenth century—once in the possession of the late Rev. W. J. Blew, whose collection of old Office books was unique, was dated 1780.¹ And an edition is said to have been issued in Dublin, though the statement has not been verified, late in the present century. Of these various Primers an expert affirms (as already said) that down to the year 1780 thirty editions at least, and perhaps more, are known to have been printed. These four editions of the Primer, of 1599, of 1615, of 1673, and of 1706, as they are the four heads of families, speaking liturgically, of this book in modern English, so do they form the basis of all translations of the Breviary hymns, from a hymnological standpoint, in the English language down to almost the middle of the present century.

II. In the year 1688 was issued the first of a second, and still more widely circulated series of liturgical books in English, which was destined to create during the next two centuries an even larger amount of popularity for the old Church-song than

¹ In the Bodleian Library at Oxford a reprint of the book of 1706 is preserved, entitled *The Lady's Primer*, which was published at Ormskirk in the year 1804. This, probably, was the last edition issued.

the Primers had hitherto effected. This series was called the Evening Office, or Evensong, or the Vespers-Book of the Church; and it may be said parenthetically, that no editor's name can be added to these series of books. As the elder Primers reproduced the hymns for Vespers alone, in an Appendix to the Office of our Lady, so this newer departure in English Catholic devotional literature provided the Office psalms and prayers for the whole year, into which the hymns were tessellated in their due sequence and place. The English versions of the Vesper hymns printed in these Evening Offices usually, but not exclusively, followed the lead of the Primer volumes which were published in order next before the issue of each Evensong. Thus, the first book which contained the Vesper Offices in full (1688) followed, in the translation of its English renderings, the Primer last printed three years previously—in 1685. The second book of the series, which was not a mere reprint hymnologically of the volume of 1688, the Evening Office of 1710 in the same respect followed, as a rule, the translations in the Primer issued four years before, that of 1706. These two volumes are at once the originators and the representatives of those in later times which followed in their wake.

A long array of Vesper Books might be catalogued from that day to this. Of those which appeared up to the close of the eighteenth century, this may be said, that some editors were pleased to adopt one version of the hymns, some another, and some again a composition of both the preceding Primer translations. For, practically speaking, the hymns from the Primers of 1685 (together with its reprint in a revised and slightly enlarged form in 1687) and of 1706 alone were subsequently used. The law which regulated the selection of the English version of the hymns by successive editors or printers, and whether such law were moral, or social, or legislative, is extremely doubtful. On the one hand, different printers certainly issued almost or quite contemporaneously different editions which contained the same hymns. Others produced editions which contained different hymns. Others again reproduced versions of hymns, in new editions, of a less polished cast when it was possible to have employed translations of a more highly poetical form. For this additional fact in the literary confusion which surrounds the issue of the Evensongs, in the matter of hymns, the writer is indebted to a friend, the Rev.

James Mearns,¹ who has pointed out the following anomaly. In addition to those already named, there exist editions of the Evening Office published in the years 1738, 1748, and 1760, to mention no more than three. In each of these editions certain peculiarities and variations are to be found, each from the other: but, whereas the editions of 1738 and 1760 are practically founded on the versions issued in 1688 and 1710, the edition of 1748 appears to be based, in Mr. Mearns' opinion, "upon a much rougher version." The cause of this anomaly is not easy to discover. The law of copyright could hardly extend to works the very existence of which was unknown to the law of England, or to works which if known to the law would have been destroyed or confiscated. And yet, some sort of copyright appears to have been permitted and exercised abroad in the case even of books published in English and printed by refugees. Thus, in some copies of the Primer of 1619, there is inserted a "brief of privilege" on behalf of John Heigham, an English Catholic, in virtue of which the Primer of his edition was to enjoy a monopoly in Belgium, under "grievous penalty" to the free-trader and confiscation of his book—a rival edition of the "Offices of the Blessed Virgin Mary." Of course, the same law may have been applied to certain editions also of the Evening Office, and thus the above-named anomaly may be explained. In any case, the question of the various editions of both the Evensong books and the Primers (in a hymnological aspect), of the sources of their translations, and where and how they severally agree and differ, is a wide subject which needs and will repay careful and minute attention.

Of the books of Evensong originally printed in the first division of time we are now considering, it is believed that the final edition, speaking hymnologically, containing the elder and Primer forms, was issued so late as the year 1835. This edition held its position as the accepted Catholic Vesper Book until the publication of the first of the nineteenth century versions, which eventually drove from the field the early Primer renderings. Six years later an edition of the Vesper

¹ The student of the *Dictionary of Hymnology* is grateful to Mr. Mearns for a series of masterly and comprehensive biographical monographs of German hymnodists, their works, and of such of their hymns as have been translated into English, not only Protestant but Catholic. This feature in the dictionary is supplemented by many other articles from the same pen, upon Catholic hymns and their various versions in the vernacular, which are of great interest and value to the hymnologist.

Book was issued, which contained a newer and more modern version of the old Breviary hymns. This edition, with which we have now no further concern than to chronicle its advent and to note its results, was due to one of the earliest and greatest benefactors to modern English and Catholic hymnody, though his work has now been superseded by an even wider benefactor than he, the late Very Rev. Provost F. C. Husenbeth, of Cossey.

II.

III. The volumes of a third series of liturgical books for popular use, which include translations of the Church hymns, first appeared in the year 1763. This work, well printed in readable type, and in four goodly tomes, was entitled the Divine Office for the use of the Laity. The Divine Office was translated, and arranged by the Rev. Father Charles Cordell, according to Mr. Gillow, in his valuable *Dictionary of Catholic Biography*¹—such being the partial interpretation of the curious initial signature to the work C. C. C. A-D. A. It included within its range, and in addition to supplemental additions which do not concern the present inquiry, the variable parts of both the Mass and the Vesper Office for the entire year, combined (of course) with the invariable portions of the Evensong and of the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass. The Divine Office followed the lines, in the matter of its hymn versions, of the Primer of 1706, with certain but mainly unimportant variations: and this work, reprinted in 1780 in two volumes, was issued, it is believed, for the last time in the year 1806. The final edition, deprived of the Ritual for the use of the Laity, was published at Manchester by T. Haydock, and was edited by the Rev. Father B. Rayment.

As being a useful, valuable, and devout manual for those for whose spiritual benefit it was first produced, it is much to be regretted that the Divine Office possesses no modern representative at the present day. The result of this want of appreciation on the part of the laity of the past century is serious to those whose lot is cast in the present one. To many pious souls who are not drawn to the recital of, or who are

¹ It is a pleasure to note the recent issue of the penultimate volume, the fourth, of this *opus magnum*, the value of which, to the Catholic student of the last three and a half centuries, is only equalled by its extreme interest. Mr. Gillow gives the following explanation of the whole signature: "Car. Cordell. Coll. Angl.-Duc [Douay]. Alumn." (*Dictionary*, p. 566.)

powerless for many reasons to recite, the whole of the sacred Offices of the Church daily, the saying of so much of the seven-fold order of prayer in English as is provided by the Divine Office would be a privilege. And the privilege is the greater and more easily accepted as the Evensong for the whole year in the same volume is supplemented, not only by the Office of Compline, but also by the text of the daily offering of Holy Mass. But, apparently, in the last century, and the practice has been emphasized in this, fashion in the modes of private devotion amongst lay people has changed, and changed, in the judgment of many persons, not for the better. In any case, devotions in the way of ancient Offices have waned; and towards and after the close of the eighteenth century, more modern forms of private devotion have waxed and become popular. Amongst other earlier manuals, such as the Primer in its integrity, whose place is by no means competently filled by the Little Office of our Lady, and others, the Divine Office ceased to be popular, ceased to be used, ceased to be asked for at the booksellers', and finally, after a career of about a century and a half in duration, ceased to exist. The first edition, in bold type filling four volumes, a copy of which was once owned by the writer, is now to be seen but rarely. Is it, however, too much to hope that some devout layman, blessed with the necessary means, and not wanting in the patience needed to complete the work, may be moved, in the spirit and temper of liturgical devotion, to reprint this handsome and invaluable book?

IV. Certain other liturgical books remain to be noticed, although the hymnological value of each one, from the nature of the several works, as aiding the wide-spread love for hymns according to their capacity, is comparatively small. These volumes are:

1. A translation of the Roman Missal, in four volumes, in the years 1737 and 1738, including, of course, the few hymns and sequences which secure admission into the order of the Sacred Mass. The Missal was translated by the Rev. John Gother (whose devotional works, exclusive of the present translation, extend to sixteen volumes), and was re-issued in the same form in 1787. The book was reprinted in two volumes, at a probably later but unknown date; and in one volume in the years 1789 and 1806, since which no trace remains of its existence. The versions in the Roman Missal are taken from various sources. Some of the hymns are verbally copied from, others

are based upon, the hymns in the Primer of 1706; some reappeared altered in the Divine Office of 1763. The *Veni Sancte Spiritus* is found in Austin's Devotions of 1668; and this bears some appearance of having been rendered by Dryden, —with whom Gother was contemporary—of course, before he became a Catholic.¹

2. A translation of the marvellous and almost divinely inspired Offices for Holy Week, with its half-dozen grand Missal hymns, printed in 1670 by Sir W. Kirkham Blount. This is, perhaps, the earliest English version of the Holy Week Book which was issued; a modern reprint of which it has not been the good fortune of the writer to meet with. But a friend reports three later editions in the years 1672, 1687, and 1720; and another version, by another hand, was compiled previously to the end of the first period of hymnody noted above, and was published, during the year 1780, in London by the house bearing a name so well-known in Catholic books of the period as that of J. Coghlan. At the present moment there exist at least four different modern descendants of the form of the book of 1670; and there is room for yet another edition produced in a style and manner of type, paper, and size, less unworthy of the dignity and importance of the Office. The hymns in some of the later editions of the Holy Week Book are the same as, or are based on, Dryden's versions in the Primer of 1706, and in the Divine Office of 1763.

3. Two other volumes, which hymnologically are one, for they include a single hymn only, and that hymn in two forms of a single version, must be touched upon. These are, firstly, the Great Sacrifice of the New Law expounded by Figures of the Old, by James Dymock, "a clergyman," published in 1687; and secondly, the Entire Office and all the proper Masses for the Dead, published (by another well-known Catholic house which has now passed away, P. Keating) without date—a book which the Preface incidentally proves to have been printed later than 1718, and one which experts assign to about the year 1780. Both these tiny 24mo tomes contain "the Holy Mass Englished," the first-named translating the Mass of the

¹ The earliest edition of this work well deserves to be reprinted in four volumes, of a handy size and in a readable type—of course, with all the additions and changes made needful by the course of time. In the edition of the Missal of 1737, the Rev. W. Craythorne (according to Mr. Gillow) was careful to print the "Order of the Mass" in the middle of each volume—a plan which, for daily use, is far more convenient than the modern custom of printing the Ordinary and Canon at the beginning.

Blessed Trinity, the last-named that for the Dead. Father James Dymock's handy volume, with Mass in both languages, reached at least eight editions; and in the Preface to the eighth reprint, the author hopes that "no Catholic will take exception, if, after seven English translations of the Mass by Catholics, (he ventures to set forth) an eighth, of one entire Mass."¹

These two volumes, otherwise deserving only of passing notice, are remarkable from a hymnological point of view—as being, probably, unique in their way. In the eighth edition of the Great Sacrifice appears a new version of *Dies Iræ*, possibly by the editor, certainly without external evidence against his authorship, which is written in a metre known as Trochaic sevens. Nearly a century later, in the other little book above-named, the same Sequence for the Dead, with equal absence of clue to its translator, is printed in Iambic eights. Upon a comparison of the two versions, they prove to be practically identical with verbal differences only, or rather the first is contained in the last with verbal additions only. The editor of the Office for the Dead has manipulated the version of *Dies Iræ* by Father Dymock; and by ingeniously increasing each line by a single syllable, has transformed the shorter measure into the longer. This result has been effected, in the majority of lines, either by prefixing an article, pronoun, adverb, or interjection, or the copulative And or the vocative O, or by interpolating a monosyllabic word into the substance of the line. The effect from a poetical point of view is singular; but it is not easy to say which of the two versions has gained, or which has lost, by this somewhat mechanical change of metre.² Neither of these two volumes, so far as the writer

¹ It is not easy to determine if Father Dymock, in these words, alludes or not to the seven previously issued editions of his own work: for the present writer is unacquainted with so many fresh versions in English of the Holy Mass, prior to 1687.

² A similar feat in poetical literature was performed by the late Father Caswall, upon one of his own poems. The second edition of his charming and beautiful legend, *The Tale of Tintern*, a May pageant of eight cantos and upwards of two thousand lines, was entirely rewritten, eight years later, upon the basis of the first edition. Father Caswall, however, and the editor of the Office for the Dead worked by different methods. For, whilst the latter author lengthened the metre of the *Dies Iræ* from another's pen, from seven to eight syllables, the former reduced the length of his own lines from ten syllables to eight. The two efforts are in their several ways so unique that it may be interesting to quote a few lines from the opening stanzas of both. The first words of *The Tale of Tintern* in the two editions are as follows:

- 1st. It chanced upon our great Augustin's day,
Late in the Holy Virgin's month of May.
- 2nd. It chanced on our Augustin's day,
Late in the Virgin's month of May.

knows, have been reprinted as monographs in the present century. But, it may be added, as a clue to further inquiry, that the *Dictionary of Hymnology* affirms that the translation of *Dies Iræ*, in the Sacrifice of the Old Law, appeared in the same year (1687) in a reprint of the Primer which was issued in the year 1685.

The reader may now wish to see specimens of the literary work of the old Catholic remnant in England in the region of ancient translated hymnology. That he is already familiar with some, or even with many of the early translations from the Breviary-hymns of the seventeenth century, though he may be all unconscious of their origin, is highly probable. Born Catholics, as well as some who cannot claim that privilege, who have been brought up spiritually on the old-fashioned manuals and books of devotion, such as the Garden of the Soul, or the Ursuline, and St. Vincent Manuals, and others, must be and are acquainted, to name but one hymn, with "Jesus, the only thought of Thee;" and this version of St. Bernard's words is at least two centuries old, having appeared in the Primer of 1685. And many other hymn-versions might be quoted. The following translations, however, may not be known, in their several forms, to the reader. They are renderings of the Easter Ambrosian hymn, of both the original and revised texts, from the four early Primers, severally, which are here considered as heads of families amongst the Offices in English of the seventeenth century. The hymns are printed in parallel columns for the sake of easy contrast one with the other; and in this way they almost make an object-lesson in the history of the English language, as well as form noteworthy instances in comparative hymnody. The reason of the omission of two stanzas in the Primer version of 1615 is unknown to the writer: can any reader supply the cause?

The first stanza of *Dies Iræ*, according to the two several versions above-named, are:

1687: Day of wrath, that dreadful day,
Shall the world in ashes lay,
David and the Sybils say.

1780: *The* day of wrath, that dreadful day,
Shall *all* the world in ashes lay,
As David and the Sybils say.

Of course, the italic letter indicates the words, or syllables, which have been either subtracted from, or added to, each quotation respectively. It is right to add that Father Caswall's poetic feat was brought to the writer's notice, some years ago, by Father Bridgett, C.S.S.R.

PRIMER, A.D. 1599.

Ad canam Agni providi.

1. At Supper of the Lamb prepared,
And with white vestures pure and
chaste,
To Christ our Prince let us sing praise,
The Red Seas being overpast.
2. Whose corpse most holy did remain
In torture on the Cross distrest,
By tasting of His Blood so red,
Our life alone in God doth rest.
3. Protected on the Paschal eve
From that same angel which destroys,
And we from Pharaoh freed are
Of thralldom that the most annoys.
4. Our Paschal Christ is now become
The Lamb He was and Sacrificed;
His Flesh the Bread both sweet and pure
That for the offering hath sufficed.
5. O worthy Sacrifice and true,
Which didst the force of Hell restrain,
And captive people didst redeem,
And yield rewards of life again.
6. Forth of His tomb when Christ arose,
As Conqueror from Hell He came,
To bands He did the tyrant bring,
And Heaven's open passage frame.
7. We pray thee, Author of us all,
During this joyful Easter-tide,
Thou wilt vouchsafe from brunt of death
Thy people's safety to provide.
8. All glory be to Thee, O Lord,
Which from the death didst rise
again,
With the Father and Holy Ghost,
That world without end may remain.

PRIMER, A.D. 1673.

Ad regias Agni dapes.

1. At the Lamb's regal banquet, where
We must in candid robes appear,
After the Red Sea past, let's sing
A hymn of praise to Christ our King.
2. Whose charity divinely good,
While love doth sacrifice, as priest,
Makes tender of His Sacred Blood,
The Body whereon souls do feast.
3. The striking angel dreads the gore
He sprinkled finds about the door;
The yielding sea divides his waves,
The foes there meet their liquid graves.
4. Now Christ our Pasch we rightly name, 4.
Our Paschal Victim is the same;
Who is to souls that purged be,
Pure Azyne of sincerity.

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PRIMER, A.D. 1615.

Ad canam Agni providi.

1. Now, at the Supper of the Lamb,
Watchful and clad in garments white,
Let us, who through the Red Sea came,
To Christ our Lord sweet hymns indite.
2. Whose Holy Body for our food
Was on the Cross' altar broiled;
By tasting of His rosy Blood
We lead to God a life unsoiled.
- 3.
4. Now Christ our Pasch is offered,
The Lamb that immolated dies;
His Flesh, the pure unleavened Bread,
Is made a perfect Sacrifice.
5. O Host, right worthily esteemed,
Which the infernal bars down throws,
Which hath the imprisoned souls re-
deemed,
And the rewards of life bestows.
- 6.
7. We pray Thee, who hast framed all,
Now in this joyful Paschal-time,
Defend Thy people lest they fall
Into some deadly harm, or crime.
8. Glory, O Lord, be given to Thee
Whom from the dead Thyself could
raise;
And glory to the Father be,
And Holy Ghost beyond all days.

PRIMER, A.D. 1706.

Ad regias Agni dapes.

1. From purple seas and land of toil
We come to feed on Egypt's spoil;
May whitest robes our souls prepare
To meet the Christian passover.
2. Christ's love the priestly function played,
His Blood, inflamed with love for man,
The Victim on the altar laid;
At every saving channel ran.
3. The wasting angel passes o'er
The posts distained with sacred gore;
The yielding sea divides its waves
Egyptians float in liquid graves.
4. Now Christ becomes our heavenly fare,
Our Sacrifice and Passover;
By Him, the pure unleavened Bread,
The pure and faithful minds are fed.

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| <p>5. O heavenly Sacrifice, by whom
The depths of Hell are overcome,
And death's strong bonds dissolved, for
 which
Life's crown His temples doth enrich.</p> | <p>5. O true celestial Sacrifice,
By whom Hell's slaves from death arise;
By Thee death's adamantine laws
Submit, and life regains its cause.</p> |
| <p>6. Christ, Victor o'er infernal foes,
His conquered trophies does expose,
And having Heaven unlocked, enslaves
The King that rules Hell's darksome
 caves.</p> | <p>6. Hence dost Thou, crowned with laurels,
 rise
And leadst Thy triumph through the skies;
Loaded with spoils each axle reels,
And Hell and death attend the wheels.</p> |
| <p>7. That, Jesu, Thou to souls mayst be
A Paschal joy eternally,
Free from the horrid death of sin
Us, who regenerate have been.</p> | <p>7. From death of sin, O Jesus, free
Them that are born again to Thee;
Be Thou alone our chosen Guest,
And everlasting Paschal feast.</p> |
| <p>8. Be God the Father glorified,
With Christ His Son, who for us died
And rose again; so likewise be
The Holy Ghost eternally.</p> | <p>8. May endless worlds the glories tell
Of Christ, who vanquished death and
 Hell;
And one eternal praise repeat
The Father and the Paraclete.</p> |

It has been said that the authors of the Primer translations are anonymous. Such is the case. But the authorship of a few of the versions in the Primer of 1615 and of the major part of those in the book of 1706 has been much and long discussed. It is certain that some, perhaps many, possibly all the translations of 1706 are from the pen of the last Catholic Poet Laureate, John Dryden. It is almost as certain, morally if not physically, that the few transcripts of the hymns of 1615, found posthumously in the handwriting of the Protestant Drummond of Hawthornden, with alterations and omissions of an anti-dogmatic character, and along with other unsigned transcripts subsequently proved to be of other authorship—are *not* from his hand.¹ The Preface to the Primer of 1599 is signed R.V. This almost certainly indicates Richard Verstegan, antiquarian, author, poet, printer, publisher, and last not least, confessor and refugee for the faith, who lived, wrote, and printed at Antwerp at the close of the sixteenth century. Verstegan's Odes were published in 1601. But their style and manner are so far superior to the 1599 versions of the Primer hymns which he issued, as to make it somewhat questionable whether or not the same writer composed both. Who may have translated the hymns of the books of 1615 and of 1673 it is impossible to say and hard to surmise. That there were ecclesiastics competent to do the work is undoubted. There were also many laymen who

¹ Dr. Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* contains a defence of Drummond's authorship of the mutilated copies of the hymns from the Primer of 1615. *St. Luke's Magazine* for February, 1895, contains the opinions of some experts on the question of Dryden's claim to the Primer hymns of 1706, collected by the present writer.

were capable to have produced either one or the other of these Primers, as is clear to every literary student of those times. Not to speak of Southwell or Heywood, who died too long before 1615; or of John Digby and W. Habington and Crashaw, who died too long before 1673, it is sufficient to name amongst others Thomas Lodge, Sir W. Davenant, H. Constable, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Aston Cokain, and Sir Edward Sherburne, who might have had some share in this labour for the Church. Two other names may also be omitted, that of Ben Jonson, who was a Catholic for twelve years; and, as has been suggested by a friend, that of another, who probably lived as well as "died a Catholic," William Shakespeare.

ORBY SHIPLEY.

NOTE.

Since the above article was set up in type, a small discovery in hymns has been made, which caused several of its dates and statements to be altered before publication. Hitherto, those who had studied the subject recognized, amongst the seventeenth century English Primers, speaking hymnologically, four heads of families—1599, 1615 (originally supposed to have been first issued in 1619), 1685, and 1706. The year 1685 must now be replaced by that of 1673. The story which led to this alteration is somewhat long, but may be worthy of narration hereafter. It can be epitomized, however, as follows: The *Dictionary of Hymnology* for the first time intimated, in an article on Primers, that the book of 1685 contained seven or eight hymns which had appeared in a Protestant collection of sacred verse eight years previously; and the author, Mr. Bennett, sagaciously suggested the existence of a "lost Primer" of an earlier date than 1685, whence these versions had been taken. The present writer chanced to be in Oxford in the month of May, and during some researches in the Bodleian Library, when looking over the catalogue, he had the gratification to find the "lost" Primer, plainly indexed and dated 1673, containing the original versions of the hymns in question, which were reprinted four years later. Unless an earlier edition be found, this volume, which apparently is very rare, must be held to be the third of the four heads of families, in place of the book of 1685, which hymnologically is a mere reprint. On referring the matter to Rev. E. Hoskins, who is engaged in an exhaustive work on Catholic Primers, the writer learned that Mr. Hoskins was conscious of the existence of the Primer (of which he furnished the press mark) as a liturgical book; but that he was unaware of its value as a volume of hymns. This discovery, by parity of reasoning, tells very forcibly against the Drummond authorship of certain hymns in the Primer of 1615.

Origin and Development of the Vatican Library.

THE history of the Vatican Library, intimately connected as it is with that of the scientific and literary progress of the last four centuries, must always form a subject of considerable interest to the historical student. It is proposed in this paper to trace the origin and development of this noble institution under the great Popes of the fifteenth century.

Although evidence is not wanting of the existence of a library attached to the Apostolic See from a very early period, its history to the close of the thirteenth century is acknowledged, by one of our best authorities,¹ to be involved in much obscurity, and its treatment attended with considerable difficulty.

In 1295, by command of Boniface VIII., an inventory was made of the contents of the Treasury of the Holy See, and this comprises a list, separately scheduled, of "books of theology, civil law, canon law, and medicine, with many others, about five hundred volumes." This, the most ancient catalogue of the Papal Library, is the first of a long series extending almost continuously through the six following centuries, which, together with the letters of various Pontiffs and with other documents in the Roman archives, throw much light on these interesting collections. To MM. Muntz and Fabre, of the Ecole Française de Rome,² we are indebted for the publication of many of these hitherto unedited and little-known muniments. The above library of Boniface VIII. was dispersed somewhat mysteriously in the fourteenth century. It certainly was not transferred with other treasures to Avignon, as the library formed there did not in its turn find its way to Rome along with the return of the Popes. The Antipope, known under the title of Benedict XIII., made considerable additions to this latter collec-

¹ G. B. de Rossi.

² The writer must acknowledge his obligation to the scholarly publications of this school, for much of the original matter, Papal Briefs, &c., here offered in translation, and used in the compilation of this paper.

tion, and, in 1408, transferred a great portion of it to Peniscola, in Catalonia. The period covered by the unhappy Schism of the West was ill adapted for the foundation or development of a new Papal Library; and we even find Gregory XI. giving his consent to the sale of some books of the Roman Church, probably liturgical works, for a sum of five hundred golden florins, to relieve the pressing necessities of the Pontifical treasury. The Registry of the Bulls of this period, that is, of the Popes seated at Rome, after the return of Gregory XI., was located at the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, from whence, in 1428, the Registers of the See, which formed such a valuable nucleus of the future library, were ordered by Martin V. to be transferred "ad loca in palatio apostolico apud SS. Apostolos nunc parata."

This Pope, at the close of the Schism, contented himself with bringing a few only of the more important volumes from the library at Avignon. In a Brief addressed to the Archbishop of Narbonne, he enjoins him to send forthwith to Rome two books, entitled respectively, *Catholicum*, and *Speculum Historiale*, mentioning also a Pontifical and a Book of Ceremonies.¹

His successor, Eugenius IV., was undoubtedly a bibliophile. It is related that before his elevation to the Chair of St. Peter, he had copied, with his own hand, a breviary which he continued to use as Pope, and the catalogue of the library, drawn up in his reign, has recently been discovered in the Vatican archives. It discloses a total of about 340 volumes. Works on theology, canon law, and scholastic philosophy predominate, but we find also those of Xenophon, Demosthenes, Aristotle, Livy, Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, and Seneca, while more modern authors are represented by Marco Polo, Petrarch, and Boccaccio.

This library had a redoubtable rival in that of the Chapter of St. Peter, which, in 1439, received a legacy of 254 manuscripts from the Cardinal Giordano Orsini, together with a sum of two hundred ducats for the construction of a suitable receptacle for the same.

The Vatican is indebted to the zeal of Eugenius IV. for the recovery of part at least of the treasures which had been left

¹ An entry of the payment of fifty golden florins appears among the Roman State archives, 22nd August, 1418, to Otto Varreo, Chamberlain of our Lord the Pope, for certain repairs made in a breviary and other books of our aforesaid Lord Pope.

at Avignon, among which the most important was the series of Papal Registers.

The following Brief was issued on this occasion :

Eugenius, &c. To his beloved sons, Rosello Roselli, clerk of the Apostolic Chamber Our Nuncio, and Bartholomew Brancacci, noble citizen of Avignon, Health and Apostolic Benediction,—Whereas, in the care of Our venerable brother, Peter Bishop of Albano, Cardinal de Foix, Legate of the Apostolic See, at present will be found and are many privileges, relics, vestments, books, ornaments, and other and divers goods to the Holy Roman Church and Apostolic See belonging, which by-certain Roman Pontiffs, Our predecessors of happy memory, from the Mother City of Rome and the renowned Churches of the Lateran and St. Peter, to the parts of Avignon and other places were formerly carried ; We, with God's guidance, desiring to restore the said goods to the aforesaid Mother City, of Our Apostolic authority, by the tenor of these presents, do grant full and free authority to your devotion, to demand the privileges, relics, vestments, books, ornaments, goods, and things aforesaid, from Our aforesaid Cardinal, and in the name of the aforesaid See and Church, and to ask the said Cardinal for the entire restitution of all of them, and if, as We hope, he shall consign the said things to you or either of you, to receive and accept, and bring them to Us, or otherwise transmit, and also to acquit the aforesaid Cardinal, after this delivery made of all such things as he shall have given and delivered to you, in Our name and the name of the See and Church aforesaid, so that neither he nor his heirs, by occasion of the same, may hereafter be molested. Given at Florence, xii. calends of July, anno xi. (1441.)

These instructions appear to have been, for some reason, but imperfectly carried out. It is certain that a large portion of the library at Avignon found its way to the College de Foix, then recently founded by the Cardinal at Toulouse, which collection was subsequently dispersed throughout Europe.¹

The accession of Nicholas V. brings us to the foundation of the Vatican Library, properly so called, for this Pope instituted, in the Palace of the Vatican, a library which, in the opinion of his contemporaries, was pre-eminent over all those which had preceded it. The collection which, as we have seen, numbered

¹ A few years since the Earl of Ashburnham restored to the Papal archives a Register of Innocent III. (1297-99.) This volume was traced as having been among the above collection at Toulouse. Thence it passed to Dijon towards the end of the sixteenth century, and, after occupying a place in the cabinets of several bibliophiles, became, in the reign of Louis XIV., the property of Francois Bosquet, Bishop of Montpelier. In this district it remained till after the death of Colbert, when it was brought to England. In 1848 it was found with a Mr. Andrews, a bookseller of Bristol, from whom it was purchased by Lord Ashburnham.

under Eugenius IV. only some 340 volumes, at the death of Nicholas V. was increased to 1,160, of which about 350 were Greek MSS. Before ascending the Pontifical throne, we learn, on the authority of Vespasian, that Thomas de Sargrave already possessed a considerable private collection, which, with the books left by his predecessor and the valuable series of Registers, formed the nucleus of the new Pontifical Library. We are told that Nicholas V. in his earlier years, in his zeal to possess himself of some coveted treasure, had often involved himself in debt, and he had scarcely issued from the Conclave before we find him essaying to realize his nobly ambitious project of forming of the Vatican the first library in the world, and worthy of the age of the Renaissance. The fall of Constantinople and consequent distribution of its literary treasures, no doubt greatly facilitated his efforts; but all the markets of Europe were visited by his emissaries, and, where originals could not be obtained, his transcribers were directed to transmit faithful copies to the Vatican. In 1451, the well-known Alberto Enoche was despatched on a mission to the northern nations, furnished with the following commendatory letter:

Beloved sons, Health and Apostolic Benediction,—We have long determined, and with all zeal have applied Ourselves, to have, for the common convenience of learned men, a library of all books, both Latin and Greek, worthy of the dignity of the Pontiff and the Apostolic See. And now, indeed, We possess a great proportion of all authors which there are of every kind. But, whereas many books of antiquity are wanting, which, through the fault of former times, have been lost; to make inquiry, and to transcribe if the said books be found, We send Our beloved son, Enoche d'Ascoli, a man well read in Greek and Latin literature, who shall inquire in divers places and monasteries, if any of the said books which have been lost may be found with you. Therefore, in consideration of Us, you will show him all the books within your domain, especially the ancient and early written ones, and at the same time permit him to copy the same within your domain at Our cost. And Our will is that no book should be taken away, but only that a copy should be made, upon which the said Enoche will speak with you more fully on Our behalf.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's, under the Seal of the Fisherman, the last day of the month of April, the fifth year of Our Pontificate.

No Pope was ever such a genuine book lover. The historian of Humanism¹ relates that one of his greatest pleasures was to

¹ Voigt.

walk about his library, arranging his books and glancing at their contents, admiring their handsome bindings, and dwelling in thought on the gratitude that future generations of scholars would entertain towards their benefactor.

Manuscripts still exist on the shelves of the Vatican which attest the careful solicitude for his books displayed by this great patron of literature ; parchment was the usual material, and the binder's art was applied with exquisite taste, the covers generally of crimson velvet with silver clasps. His librarian, Giovanni Tortelli, a scholar as well versed in theology as in classics, was given a free hand as to expense, and it is estimated that 40,000 scudi were spent during this Pontificate on the Vatican collection. Contemporary writers are never weary of eulogizing the generosity of the Pontiff ; he is described as always carrying about with him a leathern purse well filled with florins, which he distributed among the group of *litterateurs* he had gathered round him, with lavish liberality. It is said that Valla received for his Thucydides, a richly illuminated MS. still preserved at the Vatican, the munificent sum of 500 golden scudi, Perrotti for his Polybius, 500 newly minted Papal ducats, with a promise of an ampler reward later, and 10,000 gold pieces were offered for a translation of Homer. Manetti, who was in receipt of an official salary of 600 ducats, was commissioned to translate, among other works, those of SS. Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril, Basil, and Gregory of Nyssa.

Vespasian, the bookseller, who was on intimate terms with the Pontiff, gives a long list of translations from the Greek authors which owed their existence to the zeal of Nicholas V. By this means Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Diodorus, Appian, Philo, Theophrastus, and Ptolemy became, for the first time, accessible to students.

Manetti was commanded to write an apologetic treatise against the Jews and heathen, and also to translate the whole Bible from the original Greek and Hebrew texts, but the Pope died before these projects could be carried out. Grave accusations have been brought against Calixtus III. by certain of his contemporaries with regard to alienations of the Vatican treasures. Francis Philelphé, in a long letter addressed to the Pope, implores him not to suffer the literary heritage of his predecessor to be dissipated by his courtiers, and urges him to the conservation of that library which, with so much labour and such costs, had been brought together from all parts of the

world. Vespasian and others follow in the same strain, but recent researches have shown that there is great exaggeration in these attacks, which were probably due to the wounded interests of the writers. Nicholas V. had gathered round him a whole army of *litterateurs*, many of whom, at the accession of a Pope of foreign nationality, would be displaced in favour of his own compatriots. It is difficult to believe that one who was the first jurisconsult of his age should have shown an indifference for other branches of literature.¹ This Pontiff, moreover, at his accession, had caused the Vatican MSS. to be catalogued with great care by Cosmo de Montserrat, an act which ill accords with the character ascribed to him; but a more positive proof of the fallacy of this imputation is afforded by some notes in the margin of the inventory above mentioned. From this we find that the whole of his alienations amount to but four books, and these of only secondary interest: two volumes of the *Glosses* of Nicholas de Lyra were presented to the King of Arragon, a book on the *Truth of the Catholic Faith* to a banking firm at Rome, and a *Florus* to a functionary of the Papal Court. With regard to the Greek MSS., Cardinal Bessarion received eleven, but only by way of loan, eight of which had already been returned in 1458; and about fifty, in the hands of Cardinal Ruthenius, are described as granted *ad usum vitæ*, remaining the property of the Vatican. It is curious to note that, in the following century, an act of truly royal munificence is attributed to this Pontiff, the purchase of the MSS. coming from the pillage of Constantinople, the Assemani even stating the sum given for the same, a legend which has been accepted by later writers, but for which there appears to be no foundation.

Although Pius II. can scarcely rank as a benefactor to the Vatican Library, his efforts being chiefly directed to the formation of a private collection to become the property of his family, yet, in the eighteenth century, under the Pontificate of Clement XI., this valuable library was acquired by the Holy See, and his fine collection of early Greek codices, ranging in date from the tenth to the thirteenth century, now forms a special group, bearing his name, among the literary treasures of the Vatican.

¹ Calixtus III. had spent many years in the study of the canon law at Lerida, and the inventory of the works in his private cabinet, comprising copies of the Decretals, the Clementines, and collection of privileges, prove that he still retained a fondness for his former studies after his elevation to the Pontificate.

The tastes of his successor, Paul II., lay in a somewhat different direction. He enriched the art treasures of the Vatican by his collection of gems, tapestries, medals, and antiquities of all sorts; but the very detailed inventory drawn up during his reign shows few additions to the manuscripts, and the disbursements made for the purchase of books, re-binding, and other incidental expenses of the Papal Library, are very insignificant. Under his Pontificate, the art of printing was introduced into the States of the Church. Editions of the Holy Scriptures, of St. Augustine's *City of God*, and the Letters of St. Jerome, rapidly followed one another from the press at Subiaco, and the numerous dedications from the Bishop of Aleria to Paul II., witness to the interest taken by Pope and prelate in the progress of the new invention.

The undertaking, inaugurated with so much zeal by Nicholas V., was carried out to completion by his illustrious successor, Sixtus IV. Among the first acts of his Pontificate was the issue of a commission to five architects to collect the necessary materials for the construction of a building, worthy of being a receptacle of the library formed by his predecessor. In four years the works were sufficiently advanced to allow of the commencement of the internal arrangement of the new galleries. Among the painters entrusted with the mural decoration were Melozzo de Forlì and Dominic and David Ghirlandajo. Even the presses for the books and the seats were works of art, displaying the delicate carving of the two brothers Giovanni and Marco de Dolci, while the doors were resplendent with inlaid work, executed by the best artists of Milan. The painted glass produced in Rome, not being considered of sufficient excellence, the studios of Venice were laid under contribution for this important item of decoration.

The halls forming the public library were adorned with magnificent frescoes, in one of which was represented the reigning Pope seated among his nephews, and conferring on Platina the Prefecture of the Vatican.¹

¹ The following verses written by Platina for the opening of the library were inserted beneath the above portrait of the Pope :

Templa, domum expositis, vicos, fora, mœnia, pontes,
Virgineam Trivii quod repararis aquam ;
Prisca licet nautis statuas dare commoda portus,
Et Vaticanum cingere Xyste jugum,
Plus tamen urbs debet ; nam quæ squalore latebat
Cernitur in celebri bibliotheca loco.

Equal ardour was displayed by the Pontiff in enriching the collection of books and manuscripts, for the housing of which this noble structure was designed. It is known that in 1475, at the time of the above nomination of Platina, the library contained 2,527 volumes, of which 770 were Greek, while between that year and 1484, 1,000 more were added, thus trebling the number in the inventory of Nicholas V., drawn up twenty years previously. The appointment of Platina to the post of Prefect marks a new era in the history of the Vatican. In his registers of expenses he has left us the most circumstantial information of the economy of the library while under his management. These registers, four in number, ranging from 1475 to 1481, are still preserved in the State archives at Rome. From them we gather the following details as to the *personnel* of the library at this period: Platina, in his character as chief, received a salary of ten ducats (£20) a month, although it is probable some perquisites were attached to the office. Under his orders were three assistants, called readers, librarians, or keepers. A binder was also attached to the staff. These *employés* seem to have occupied a very humble position. Platina appears to have regarded them as simple domestics; one is referred to as *seminudus et algens*, and an entry occurs of a disbursement of ten ducats to furnish him out of charity with a decent robe. Platina died of the plague in 1481, and was buried with great pomp in the Church of St. Mary Major.

A traveller to Rome in the time of Julius II. has preserved for us a copy of the tables of Rules for Students which he saw affixed to the walls of the Vatican, and which may well have been in force during Platina's term of office: "No one shall converse contentiously with another and make a disturbance in the library, nor clamber over the seats and wear them away with his feet in moving from place to place, and (the reader) shall close the books and return them to their proper place. And where desired a work may be read through. He who acts contrariwise shall be ignominiously expelled, and prevented from henceforth entering here."

The place of honour in the library was given to the registers, then comprising one hundred and fifteen volumes, from Gregory VII. to Gregory XII. They were contained in four presses. Urbano Freschi, Protonotary Apostolic, was entrusted with the task of causing copies to be made of the most important documents. In Platina's Registers are several

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notices of this work ; the transcriber was Cassius de Parma. These afterwards served as a basis for the work of Theiner, *Codex Diplomaticus Domini Temporalis S. Sedis.*

In the collection of Sixtus IV. there is a large preponderance of ecclesiastical literature. The inventory of 1475 mentions twenty-six volumes of St. Chrysostom's works, twenty-eight of St. Ambrose, thirty-one of St. Gregory, forty-one of Canon Law, fifty-one of Records of Councils, fifty-one of the works of St. Thomas, thirty-seven of St. Jerome, and eighty-one of St. Augustine. The Old and New Testaments occupy fifty-nine volumes, and Glosses on the Scriptures ninety-eight. Celebrated Greek authors are represented by one hundred and nine volumes, and there are one hundred and sixteen on religious subjects by less known writers of the same nation. The classics occupy the second place ; fourteen volumes of the works of Seneca, fifty-three of the Latin poets, seventy of Greek poetry and grammar, one hundred and twenty-five of Roman, and fifty-nine of Grecian history. The Latin writers on astrology and geometry contribute nineteen, and Greek astrologers forty-nine volumes, Latin philosophers one hundred and three, and Greek ninety-four. There were fifty-five Latin, and fourteen Greek works on medicine.¹ In one respect the library was inferior to that of his predecessor, Nicholas V., in the total absence of any works in the vernacular.

A conspicuous feature of the management of the library at this period was the facility afforded to borrowers for the loan of manuscripts for use at their own residences for longer or shorter periods. In the Registers of Platina we find among those availing themselves of this privilege, Princes of the Church, ecclesiastics of all Orders, men and women of noble rank, down to those in a comparatively humble condition of life. Sixtus IV., in his Bull of the 1st July, 1477, expressly states the objects of the institution to be the exaltation of the Church Militant, the spread of the Catholic faith, and the advancement of learning, objects which obviously could only be attained by a liberal extension of privileges to students. It was, no doubt, owing to abuse that these privileges were at a later period considerably curtailed, a pledge being required from the borrower ; and the following extract from a Bull of Sixtus will account for the system being finally abolished :

¹ Dr. Pastor's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iv. Translated by the Rev. F. I. Antrobus.

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We have lately learned from trustworthy information that, since the time of Eugenius IV., Our predecessor, certain ecclesiastical and secular persons, not having the fear of God before their eyes, by crafty means and at divers times have possessed themselves of several volumes of sacred theology and other faculties, as well as of other goods to the aforesaid Library and Palace belonging, and still rashly and maliciously presume to conceal and detain the same, not caring to restore them, to the danger of their souls, and the damage of the said Roman Church. We therefore to whom it pertains to find a suitable remedy for this, by Our Apostolic authority, do require and admonish all and singular the secret detainers of books and other goods, of whatever dignity, station, grade, rank, or condition they may be, that within forty days they duly restore the said volumes and other goods, and make full and due satisfaction.

At this period took place the separation of the manuscript books from the documents and archives. The troublous state of the times induced the Pope to transfer for safer custody, to the Castle of St. Angelo, the charters and ancient muniments of the Roman Church, after authentic transcripts had been duly executed as before mentioned.

The following brief description of the library was written twenty years later by Albertini :

In the Apostolic Palace of the Vatican is that glorious library built by Sixtus IV., with his portrait exquisitely painted and the epigram beneath. There are also paintings of the doctors with other verses which I give in my collection of epigrams. Besides this library is another called the Greek one, also built by Sixtus, together with the Chamber of the Custodians. There is, moreover, a third very beautiful library, also erected by Sixtus IV., in which are the Codices adorned with gold, silver, and silk bindings. I saw Virgil's works in this hall, written in capital letters, besides geometrical, astronomical, and other instruments, connected with the liberal arts, which are also decorated with gold, silver, and paintings.

We cannot but here pay a tribute to the large-hearted zeal of the present illustrious Pontiff, in his endeavour to realize the ideal of his predecessor, Nicholas V., to form at the Vatican a library "for the common convenience of all learned men," by throwing open these literary treasures to the students of all nations. The words of Leo XIII., in the preamble of the Decree of October 1, 1888, so clearly defining the motives prompting him to this generous action, may well bring this paper to a conclusion.

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The sacred and holy office which the Roman Pontiffs fill seems to require it at their hands that to the best of their endeavour they should collect the monuments of literature, in which the different bent of individual minds should be as it were catalogued, and from which the wisdom and testimonies of the many-sided learning of past times should be open to seekers. For this reason most opportunely and with remarkable prudence, Our predecessors spent much care in enriching with loving zeal and at immense expense by procuring rare books of every description, a library in the Palace of the Popes, for their own use and that of the Apostolic See. With a similar design, namely, that from so splendid a pile of books greater benefits might accrue to the Church, from the commencement of Our Pontificate We have bestowed thought and care on the Vatican Library. And since We knew well that many rules had been drawn up by Our predecessors of happy memory, Sixtus V., Clement XII., Benedict IX., Clement XIII., and Pius IX., We, in following their footsteps, were careful that these rules should be preserved. Nevertheless We were anxious to add something more to the honour of the Church and for the advantage and increase of sound doctrine. Moreover We did not forget that in Our age on all sides men are being carried away by eager desire to historical studies, to search out the innermost causes of things, and We know that the enemies of religion are abusing that zeal by obscuring the light of history, by defiling it with falsehood, by alluring credence to their fallacious stories, by heaping calumnies on the guiltless, and by dragging men who have deserved every praise of posterity into contempt and odium. Certainly to defeat these hypocrisies nothing could be more effective than the baring of the truth to the light of the day, testified by the unassailable monuments of art and letters, and since of these there is an immense supply in the Vatican Library, We rightly considered that the light would be the stronger and the defence the surer in Our anxiety to blazon the truth, to guard the Catholic Church, and to scatter errors, the more resources were offered by which nothing might be left unknown or doubtful, and by which the amplest opportunities might be afforded to the learned by which the search into this body of treasures might be facilitated.

NATHANIEL HONE.

Rus in Urbe.

4.—“FLITTERMICE.”

AMONGST all peoples and at all periods it appears to have been felt that there was something about the bat which required explanation. In the first place, he seems to hold an ambiguous position between beasts and birds; in the second, his stealthy nocturnal habits, and obvious endeavours to elude observation, have most naturally produced the impression that there is something in his past history which will not bear the light. One of Æsop's fables, or at least one of those which commonly bear that name, ingeniously links together these two peculiarities, telling us that once upon a time there was war between the beasts and the birds, terminating in a pitched battle, wherein the bat, taking advantage of his dual nature, strenuously endeavoured to carry out the redoubtable policy of backing the winner, and shamelessly changed sides according as the tide of battle seemed to turn, which it did more than once in the course of the engagement. The consequence has been that ever since both parties have branded him as a traitor and renegade, so that he dare not show his face till the shades of evening afford him protection.

Another picturesque legend is recorded by Waterton. According to this, the cormorant, the bat, and the bramble, a strange trio of partners, set up business as wool-merchants. They freighted a ship with their wares, but it went to the bottom, and the firm was bankrupt. Since that day the bat has ever slunk about in the dusk to avoid his creditors, while the other two spend their time in an interminable and hopeless endeavour to repair their loss: the cormorant incessantly diving in search of the foundered vessel, and the bramble taking toll of the fleece of every passing sheep, in a forlorn attempt to accumulate a fresh store.

As for the precise nature of his relationships, it is generally

agreed that the bat is a mouse with wings; a flitter, or flutter, mouse as he used to be called in English, just as he is *Fledermaus* in German; while in French he is *chauve-souris*, the epithet "bald" being obviously applied to his hairless and featherless pinions.

Science, according to her wont, has little respect for such old-fashioned natural history, and gives a totally new account of this singular creature. Of course it is not a bird, as the ancients were half-inclined to think, but as truly a "beast"—that is to say, a mammal—as a horse or a cow. Moreover, the bat is rather high up among the mammals, being placed by naturalists¹ in the fourth of the orders into which this class is divided. It is not only altogether distinct from the family of mice, whose place is in the sixth order, of *rodents*, but appears to constitute a separate and distinct little kingdom of its own, placed amid the other beasts, it is true, but having no racial connection with any of them, so that evolutionists have no conjecture to offer as to how bats came into existence.² Their establishment, though thus isolated, is wonderfully complete, and they number within their ranks representatives of the leading industries whereby their four-footed fellows secure a livelihood: there are carnivorous bats, and insectivorous, and vegetarian; though there do not appear to be any which live on fish.

The peculiarities which mark off the bats from other mammals are exceedingly curious and interesting, and afford one of those branches of study in regard of which the dweller in London has distinctly the advantage over his country cousin. The animal himself, though he may not unfrequently be observed even in the midst of houses, town-dwellers have of course less opportunity of watching; but, after all, not many folk can get much in the way of definite information by watching a bat; while in the museum we have the opportunity of studying at our leisure the extraordinary process whereby, however it has been accomplished, he has been made what he

¹ See the *Guide to the Galleries of Mammalia* in the British Museum (Natural History), p. 3.

² "Some forms of existing beasts which are now distinct enough (such as the ox, the pig, and the horse), were preceded in early tertiary times by others which were more or less intermediate in structure. This is not the case as regards bats. Bats, as soon as they appear at all, appear as thoroughly and perfectly organized as are those bats living among us now. And living bats are separated from all other beasts in a very marked manner." (Mivart, *Types of Animal Life*, p. 175.)

is. Here we find ourselves in presence of one of those wonderful metamorphoses by which in nature the same raw materials are worked up for utterly different purposes ; metamorphoses which quite eclipse the fables of poets, who related that a lady having killed her children and wiped her hands on her dress, was changed into a red-throated swallow, or a gang of loquacious rustics into croaking frogs.

As is well known, the limbs of the various kinds of *vertebrates*, or back-boned animals, are fundamentally the same, being made up of parts which we know best as they appear in our noble selves. The fore-limbs, for instance, with us called "arms," consist of various parts. There is the upper arm (scientifically the *humerus*), from shoulder to elbow ; the fore-arm, from elbow to wrist (consisting of two bones, the *radius* and the *ulna*) ; the wrist (or *carpus*), made up in man of eight small bones (*carpal* bones) ; the hand proper (or *metacarpus*) of five (*metacarpal*) bones ; and the fingers (*phalanges*), consisting of two joints in the case of the thumb, and three in that of the other digits. In the fore-limbs of other creatures, we easily recognize these various parts, though the number of the minor constituents of each part frequently varies ; but they are modified in the most marvellous manner according to the various functions which they have to perform, as in the paw of the tiger, the hoof of the horse, the paddle of the whale, the shovel of the mole, or finally, as the wing of those creatures which are meant to fly.

Of wings we know best that of birds. This is constructed as follows. The upper arm and fore-arm remain much as we have seen them in man. The wrist consists of two small bones. In the hand we find but three, and two of these are solidified into one piece. That which remains free, the thumb, is small and unimportant, serving only to support that curious little appendage the "winglet," which many persons who frequently handle birds have probably never observed. The other two, corresponding to the bones leading to the index and middle fingers, are, as has been said, welded (or, as the learned term it, *anchylosed*) together. At the extremity of this are some small finger-bones, differing in number in different kinds of birds, but closely bound together in a fold of skin. The portion of the wing made up of the hand and fingers is called the *pinion* : to it are fastened the long flight feathers, or quills, known as *primaries*. Other flight feathers, styled *secondaries*, are fixed

to the fore-arm and upper-arm.¹ There are besides various feathers which serve not for flight, but to cover the base of the quills, which they likewise strengthen.

Thus, in the wings of birds the hand is reduced and solidified into the likeness of the arm, and serves the same sort of purpose, acting merely as a bar to which may be attached the feathers, by which the whole work of flying is done.

For the study of birds' wings, most admirable facilities are afforded in the museum. If the visitor, after entering by the main door, will advance through the great hall into which it opens till he comes to the third bay on the left, he will there find in the central case of the bay, carefully prepared skeletons of wings belonging to birds the most diverse, as the common fowl (which may be said to be the only bird without a proper name), the wild-duck, raven, king-penguin, and ostrich. Alongside of these, another series of wings exhibits the manner in which the flight-feathers are inserted in the bones; which is illustrated by examples even more numerous and varied than the others, each separate part being carefully labelled and explained. Moreover, in the wall cases of the same bay this same member may be studied from its greatest development for purposes of flight, in the frigate-bird,² to its adaptation as a fin for sub-aquatic locomotion in the penguin.

Altogether different is the wing of a bat, in the making of which the hand has been utilized in the very opposite manner. With the exception of the thumb, the fingers, all separate one from another, are enormously elongated, so much so that the middle finger is frequently longer than the head and body together. Between these magnified digits is stretched the membrane, which, like the feathers of a bird, serves, by beating the air, to support the animal in flight. This membrane running down the whole length of the arms, and the sides of the body, embraces the legs, to the ankles, and the tail, forming, in those parts where it cannot be used as a wing, a sort of parachute,

¹ Formerly, the flight feathers attached to the upper arm were called "tertiaries:" they are now distinguished as "innermost secondaries."

² This bird, though habitually found far out at sea, and coming to land only for breeding purposes, is not made for swimming, and cannot rest on the water; it therefore needs to be endowed with extraordinary powers of wing. It obtains its livelihood by catching flying-fish, or when these fail by robbing fishing-birds, compelling them to disgorge their prey, which it snatches up before it can reach the water. Specimens are to be seen in the Large Bird gallery, case 88, one of them, which is perched on a piece of wood, exhibiting the webless feet.

and so adding to the buoyancy of its bearer. The feet are free and armed with claws, which serve as hooks by which the animal can hang itself to take its rest, head downwards. The thumb, which is likewise free and armed with a claw, takes no part in the operation of flying, but serves many useful purposes. By it, as well as by the feet, the bat can hang, with it he performs his toilet, and on his feet and thumbs he can at a pinch essay to walk, though in a very ungainly and ludicrous fashion.

No less excellent opportunities are afforded in the museum for studying the bat's wing, than the bird's. In the first bay of the central hall, on the left, are seen in one of the wall cases, skeletons of the fore-limbs of most diverse forms and functions, as found in man, the orang-outang, the manatee, the dog, the lion, the rhinoceros, the ox, the horse, the sloth, the anteater, and the bat; while above the case is to be seen that of the whale, which may likewise be examined with great ease in the enormous skeleton in the centre of the hall.

In the second bay (centre, case) may be seen the stuffed figure of a large bat (*Cephalotis*), and beside it a "flying-squirrel," which as will be seen has no wings capable of a flight, but only a membrane stretched between its limbs, and serving as a parachute, so that it can take long leaps, gliding through the air, but always in a downward direction.

The wing may also be fully studied in the indigenous specimens of bats to be seen in the British room, behind the great hall, and in those exhibited in the Mammalian gallery on the first floor (case 27), among which are some skeletons; while in the Osteological gallery, on the second floor, above the stuffed mammals, are found (case 8) some admirable skeletons of large size, the details of which can be well observed. Particularly worthy of notice is the keel on the breast-bone, as on that of birds, and for the same purpose, to afford space for the attachment of the powerful muscles required for the work of flight.

As though to convince us of the extent of her resources, nature shows us specimens of yet a third form of wing, made out of arm and hand. This is not exhibited by any creature now existing, but by an extinct reptile, the pterodactyl, of which numerous specimens are seen in the Geological department of the museum. Its wing is much more on the plan of the bat's than on that of the bird, but with a notable

difference. In the pterodactyl all the other digits,¹ like the thumb of the bat, were free and clawed, the little finger alone, to which in this case the name "little" is singularly inappropriate, being lengthened out, to support the membrane of the wing, thus doing alone the work which is assigned to four fingers in the case of bats. Therefore, just as the latter are scientifically described as *cheiroptera* (hand-winged), the name of the pterodactyl appropriately signifies "wing-fingered."²

The wing of a pterodactyl (*ornithosaurus gemmingi*) is well represented by a cast in the fourth bay of the great hall (centre case), and numerous specimens of casts and actual skeletons of these strange creatures will be found in the Geological gallery (room 4, wall case A, and centre case opposite to this).³

As has been said, we find amongst the tribe of bats, animals of very different habits, corresponding to those of various classes of birds. Thus, some are rapacious or predatory, and feed on small bats, as the Indian *megaderma*, which, catching a victim, sucks its blood while flying, and, when this is drained, devours its flesh. There are also the notorious vampires, or blood-suckers, of the New World, of which there will be more to say presently. Some are fruit-eaters, as the "flying-foxes," which are of large size, some having an expanse of wing extending from four to five feet, and they do immense damage by their depredations. Of these and all other species, numerous specimens are seen in the Mammalian gallery (on the first floor), case 27.

By far the greater number of bats, however, including all those which are natives of England, are insectivorous; but even amongst them are remarkable differences to be observed. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to distinguish three separate types, all of which will be found represented in one of the cases of the British room. Attention may be called in passing to an albino, or white, specimen; we are well accustomed to white rabbits and white mice, but this colour appears strangely incongruous in the case of a creature of so darkness-loving a disposition.

Of the three classes above-mentioned, the first may be negatively described as having nothing particular to characterize it. To this belong the *pipistrelle* (or common bat), the

¹ The pterodactyl had but four digits on each hand.

² The pterodactyls are now frequently termed *ornithosauria*, or "bird-lizards."

³ Pterodactyls likewise had a keeled breast-bone.

serotine (the only bat common to the Old and New Worlds), and the great bat, or *noctule*, sometimes called in England the "rat-bat," as in Germany it is the *Flederratte*.

Next come the eared bats, which, though others are not devoid of such appendages, are distinguished by the enormous size to which these are developed. This is represented in England by one species, which, however, is very common, the long-eared bat.

Finally, the horse-shoe bats have a most extraordinary and puzzling appendage, like a leaf, upon their nose. Of these we have two, the greater and lesser.¹

As to the precise use of these various organs, whether ears as long as the creature's body, or complicated nose-leaves, if it is not possible to speak with absolute certainty, we may at least hazard what seems a very probable conjecture. All bats are remarkable for a mysterious power, which has even been described as a sixth sense, by which they become aware of the presence of objects which they neither touch nor see, and it has been found that even when blinded they flew about a room, not only without striking against the walls or windows, but actually without touching slender threads stretched in various directions across. But while this is true of all, being due, no doubt, in great measure to the extreme delicacy of their wings, it has been observed that the eared bats and the horse-shoe bats possess this kind of perception in a considerably higher degree than do others. It is plausibly argued that this is connected with their peculiar organs, and that by it they are enabled to seek their food in darkness more profound than will serve the purposes of their less gifted brethren. The horse-shoe bats in particular appear to have a wonderful power in this respect, and while they will never fly against a pane of the most transparent glass, will, when shut up in a room, detect every crevice that seems to promise a means of escape, and systematically explore it.

In spite of this perceptive power, bats are apt to fall into errors of a kind very awkward for themselves, for, as anglers know, when fishing in the gloaming it is not very unusual to

¹ These are scientifically termed *Rhinolophus* (nose-crested), and specifically distinguished as *ferro-quinum* and *hippo-sideros*, which appears to be a distinction without a difference, one term being the Latin and the other the Greek for "horse-shoe." It may be remarked that the nomenclature of the bats seem to be characterized by unusual poverty of invention. One unfortunate animal has been described in English as the "reddish-grey bat."

hook a bat, which mistaking the artificial fly for his natural prey swoops eagerly down and catching it is caught. On the other hand, I have seen one make repeated stoops at my flies as they swished through the air, and each time when he got close to them turn suddenly away, as if finding reasons to reconsider his determination.

This reminds me of another point in connection with these singular creatures. Some years ago I found myself one evening in the large refectory of an old Benedictine monastery, in Austria, the windows of which stood wide open. Through them bats constantly entered to hunt for flies, and on my remarking their presence to the Prior, he startled me by the observation that they were much better fitted for such work in churches and other buildings, than were swallows. On my asking him why he said so, he replied that if a swallow comes in by a window down below and gets up into the roof, it quite forgets how its entrance was effected, and goes round and round seeking for an exit where none is to be found; but that a bat always knows how he came in and how he can get out. The remark struck me, for we constantly see how a dog or a cat has the advantage over a bird in similar circumstances; the one looks at once for an open door or some such practical outlet, while the other flutters aimlessly round the walls or dashes against the windows,¹ and it is interesting to find this mammalian characteristic displaying itself in so birdlike an animal.

Another peculiar feature in connection with bats is their voice, which is so shrill as to be even disagreeably loud and piercing for those who can hear it, but on account of its very shrillness is inaudible to many people, so that they cannot hear it at all. Our ears have a certain range of sounds of which they are sensible, just as our eyes of colours, and what is beyond that range is for them as though it did not exist. Nor is this range the same for all; some cannot catch the "chirrup" of a grasshopper or a cricket. I have myself lived in the same room with one of the latter insects, which made so much noise as to be heard by others through a very solid door, while all the time I fancied I was amid profound silence. I have known an organist who could not hear the higher notes of the instrument he played.

¹ There is, however, a difference between birds. A robin, for example, will not rush at the window, like a sparrow or thrush, but seems to know something of the meaning of glass, which is quite in keeping with his semi-domestic disposition.

Something has been said about predatory or cannibal bats. Those hitherto described, as feeding on smaller bats, are confined to the Old World, and manage to devour their prey, or at least to suck its blood, while flying, a remarkable feat when we consider that they have nothing in the way of claws or paws wherewith to hold it. Far more celebrated, however, are the blood-sucking bats of America, which attack animals immensely too large to be moved, and appear to subsist wholly on the blood they draw from them. These are generically known as "vampires," and terrible stories were told by early travellers of their sanguinary exploits. As frequently happens, the progress of knowledge brought a reaction, so violent that for some time it was the fashion with European naturalists to ridicule the account of these blood-suckers altogether, and even at the present day there are writers who seem to imply that we have no satisfactory proof of their existence, except the fact of one being caught red-handed by Mr. Darwin in the act of gorging itself with the blood of a horse, and that in any case the injury done by such bats is trifling. There is, as usual, a modicum of truth in such assertions. The bats which used to be considered the delinquents, and which were in consequence scientifically named "vampires," are found to be guiltless in this respect. But, on the other hand, there are two species, smaller and less formidable in appearance, which not only indubitably feed like leeches on the blood they draw from living animals, but, from the structure both of their teeth and their digestive organs, appear incapable of taking more solid sustenance. Moreover, so serious are the injuries they inflict, that if they find admission into a stable, the horses or mules are rendered quite unfit for work the next day, and even for a longer period. To exclude the bats from the stalls, while admitting the air, an ingenious device is employed in Mexico. From the cactus, or prickly-pear, which grows in abundance, many fronds are gathered armed with long, spiky thorns. These are hung in festoons across the openings by which the blood-suckers can enter, so disposed as to make it impossible for the marauders to pass through without touching them with their wings, and a single thorn inserted in those delicate members brings the vampire helplessly to the ground, to await its inevitable fate at the hands, or rather at the feet, of the indignant stablemen. The bats, on their part, are clearly not endowed in any great degree with the power of which we have spoken, whereby some of their

kindred can avoid contact with all manner of obstacles, and frequently come to grief in far less difficult circumstances. They are accordingly destroyed in large numbers by these cactus traps.

The taste for the flesh or blood of large animals appears to be latent even in our English bats which actually live on insects, for it has frequently been found that when in a state of captivity they will eat raw meat with much relish, though refusing altogether to touch flies when offered them. There are, moreover, instances on record of bats which had managed to get into a larder, being found hard at work on a joint of beef or mutton.

Bats do not exhibit themselves as very amiable characters. Members of the same species, or at least of some species, will, it is true, when put into a cage or box together, engage in gambols apparently affectionate, but decidedly uncouth, which, but for the inappropriateness of the epithet in their case, might be described as horse-play. But if a bat of another kind be introduced, they proceed without further ado to murder him, and without the slightest provocation. What tragedies may go on in the wild life of these weird and sanguinary little beasts, we have no idea, in fact, though we see them so frequently, our knowledge of them is very meagre.

RURICOLA.

The Date of Easter.

THE rule which has already been given¹ for determining the day of the week of any date in the Christian era, may be supplemented by another for fixing the date of Easter, in any year, and therefore of all the moveable feasts dependent thereon. The custom prevalent in the middle ages of dating documents by such feasts, often makes it important to be able at once to do this.

(1) According to the law established by the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, Easter falls on the first Sunday after the first Full Moon occurring *after* the 20th of March. This Full Moon is called the PASCHAL MOON.

It must not, however, be supposed, that the moon here meant is that which we actually observe in the heavens. Were this the case endless confusion would arise. We know, for instance, that "Irish time" is twenty minutes behind "English time," so that in Ireland March 21st will begin when in England it is already 12.20 a.m. Suppose the moon to become full during these twenty minutes; it would be the Paschal Moon for England, as being after March 20th, but not for Ireland, and the latter country, with America, would have to wait for the next Full Moon, throwing their Easter a month behind ours.² Accordingly, just as for purposes of ordinary time we follow not the "apparent" sun, which we actually see, and which usually is not exactly in the south at noon, but the "Mean Sun," which is a figment of astronomers, so the moon for purposes of the Easter calculation, is the *Ecclesiastical Moon*, the phases of which may differ as much as two days from those of our satellite.

The 14th day of the Ecclesiastical Moon is taken to be Full Moon.

¹ THE MONTH, May, 1895, "Weeks, Months, and Years."

² Were we to follow the phases of the actual moon and sun, it might happen that Easter would be a month earlier at St. Paul's than at Westminster.

(2) Should the Full Moon, thus explained, fall on the 21st of March, and that happen to be Saturday, the following day, March 22nd, will be Easter, this being the earliest date possible for that feast.

Should the Full Moon fall on March 20th, it is necessary to wait for the next Full Moon, which will be on April 18th. If April 18th happen to be Sunday, the following Sunday, April 25th, will be Easter: this being the latest possible date.

(3) It is evident that if we can determine the day of the PASCHAL MOON, we can then by our previous method find what day of the week this is, and so fix that of Easter, which will be the following Sunday.

(4) As will be seen, the range of the Paschal Moon covers twenty-nine days, the 1st being March 21, and the 29th being April 18. It will be convenient to designate these days by their numbers in this series, 1 = March 21, 11 = March 31, 12 = April 1, 29 = April 18, and so forth. These we call DATE NUMBERS.¹

(5) The DATE NO. may be at once obtained from the GOLDEN NUMBER, which indicates the place of the year in the *Metonic Cycle* of nineteen years, after which the relations of the lunar and solar years repeat themselves. The GOLDEN NUMBERS therefore run from i. to xix., and then begin again with i.

(6) The GOLDEN NO. for any year is found thus:

Add 1 to the date of the year,² divide by 19, the remainder is the GOLDEN NO. (if remainder = 0, the Golden Number is xix.)

Thus (for 1895), $\frac{1896}{19}$ gives Quotient 99 and Remainder 15, therefore xv. is the Golden Number for the present year.

(7) OLD STYLE and NEW STYLE differ in this matter as in others, nor does the order in the New Style remain identically the same at all periods.

The following table shows the date of the PASCHAL MOON as indicated by the GOLDEN NUMBERS, for O.S. at all periods, and for N.S. from its first Easter (1583) to A.D. 2199.³

¹ For DATE No.'s 1-11, inclusive, add 20, to obtain the day of March.

v.g. DATE No. 9 = March 29.

For No.'s 12-29, inclusive, subtract 11 to obtain the day of April.

v.g. DATE No. 19 = April 8.

² The reason being that the first year of the Christian era had the Golden Number ii. The number i. is assigned to years having a New Moon on the 1st of January, and the year 1, B.C., was such a year.

³ Sir Harris Nicolas (*Chronology of History*) gives a method of finding the date of Easter, N.S. (Table H. p. 57), which is in many instances erroneous, as he appears

DATE No.'s.				DATES.			
O.S.	N.S. I.	II.	III.	O.S.	N.S. I.	II.	III.
1588-1699 1700-1899 1900-2199							
i.....16.....23.....24.....25.....	A. 5...	A. 12...	A. 13...	A. 14			
ii..... 5.....12.....13.....14.....	M.25...	A. 1...	A. 2...	A. 3			
iii.....24..... 1..... 2..... 3.....	A. 13...	M.21...	M.22...	M.23			
iv.....13.....20.....21.....22.....	A. 2...	A. 9...	A. 10...	A. 11			
v..... 2..... 9.....10.....11.....	M.22...	M.29...	M.30...	M.31			
vi.....21.....28.....29.....30 [29]...	A. 10...	A. 7	A. 18				
vii.....10.....17.....18.....19.....	M.30...	A. 6...	A. 7...	A. 8			
viii.....29..... 6..... 7..... 8.....	A. 18...	M.26...	M.27...	M.28			
ix.....18.....25.....26.....27.....	A. 7...	A. 14...	A. 15...	A. 16			
x..... 7.....14.....15.....16.....	M.27...	A. 3...	A. 4...	A. 5			
xi.....26..... 3..... 4..... 5.....	A. 15...	M.23...	M.24...	M.25			
xii.....15.....22.....23.....24.....	A. 4...	A. 11...	A. 12...	A. 13			
xiii..... 4.....11.....12.....13.....	M.24...	M.31...	A. 1...	A. 2			
xiv.....23.....30[29] 1..... 2.....	A. 12...	A. 18...	M.21...	M.22			
xv.....12.....19.....20.....21.....	A. 1...	A. 8...	A. 9...	A. 10			
xvi..... 1..... 8..... 9.....10.....	M.21...	M.28...	M.29...	M.30			
xvii.....20.....27.....28.....29 [28]...	A. 9...	A. 16	A. 17				
xviii..... 9.....16.....17.....18.....	M.29...	A. 5...	A. 6...	A. 7			
xix.....28..... 5..... 6..... 7.....	A. 17...	M.25...	M.26...	M.27			

8. It will be noticed that each of these Date Numbers, after the leading one [*i.e.*, that corresponding to Golden No. i.] is obtained by subtracting 11 from that which precedes it, 30 being added when required.

9. Hence is obtained the following formula to find the DATE NO. for any Golden No. (N.):

$$\text{DATE NO.} = \begin{pmatrix} \text{O.S. } 16 \\ \text{N.S. I. } 23 \\ \text{„ II. } 24 \\ \text{„ III. } 25 \end{pmatrix} - \begin{cases} 11 (N.-1) + \text{the least mul-} \\ \text{tiple of 30 which makes the} \\ \text{result positive.} \end{cases}$$

to proceed on the assumption that for N.S. the dates of the Paschal Moons corresponding to the several Golden Numbers, are at all periods the same as at present.

Consequently, for 1583-1699, whenever this Moon falls on Saturday, he makes it come on the Sunday which is actually Easter Day, and puts Easter a week later, (*v.g.*, in the years 1595, 1598, 1602, 1609, &c.) A still more serious error occurs, during the same period, whenever the Golden Number is xiv., to which he assigns the earliest possible date, instead of the latest, thus making Easter wrong by about a month. (*v.g.*, 1590, 1609, &c.)

On the other hand, from 1900 onwards, when the Paschal Moon actually falls on Sunday, his method puts it on Saturday, thus making Easter a week too early. (*v.g.*, 1902.)

In his extended list of dates (Table K.), Easter is always rightly placed, thus contradicting his own table.

That is to say, from the leading DATE NO. for the period in question, *subtract* eleven times the preceding GOLDEN NO., and *add* as many thirties as will make the answer greater than zero. The result is the DATE NO. for the year, having GOLDEN No. N.

But N.B., when this method gives 30 for the DATE NO., it is taken as = 29.

Also, in a series where this occurs (as in N.S. III.) when 29 results it is taken as = 28.

(10) *Examples:*

(a) 1895. (N.S.)

The GOLDEN NO. we have seen = xv.

\therefore DATE NO. = $24 - 14 \times 11 [154] + 150 = 20$ (= April 9).

\therefore The Paschal Moon fell on April 9th.

But April 9th (by our previous method) is found to be *Tuesday*, therefore Easter Sunday was April 14th.

(b) Date of Easter, 1582?

This must be O.S., as N.S. began in the October of that year.

GOLDEN NO. = vi.

\therefore DATE NO. = $16 - 55 + 60 = 21$ (= April 10).

April 10, 1582, was *Tuesday*.

\therefore Easter was five days later, *i.e.*, April 15.

(c) Date of Easter, 1900, N.S.?

GOLDEN NO. = i.

\therefore DATE NO. = 25 (= April 14).

April 14, 1900, will be *Saturday*.

\therefore Easter will be April 15.

(d) Date of Russian Easter (O.S.), 1895?

GOLDEN NO. = 15.

\therefore DATE NO. = $16 - 154 + 150 = 12$ (= April 1).

April 1, 1895, O.S. was *Saturday*, \therefore Easter was April 2.

But as O.S. is now 12 days behind N.S., the Russian 2nd of April corresponded to the 14th with us. Therefore, their Easter fell on the same day as ours, April $\frac{2}{14}$, 1895.

(e) The great comet of 1066, considered as a presage of the Norman Conquest, appeared "on the day after the octave of the Easter feast."

1066, GOLDEN NO. = iii.

\therefore DATE NO. = $16 - 22 + 30 = 24$ (= April 13).

April 13, 1066, was *Thursday*.

\therefore Easter was April 16, and its octave day (Low Sunday) was April 23.

(f) Date of Easter, N.S., 1954?

GOLDEN NO. = 17.

DATE NO. = $25 - 16 \times 11 [176] + 180 = 29$.

But 29 is taken as 28, for N.S. 1900—2199.

∴ The PASCHAL MOON falls on April 17.

April 17, 1954, will be *Saturday*.

∴ The next day, April 18, will be Easter.

If the DATE NO. were left as 29 (= April 18), the PASCHAL MOON would be made to fall on Sunday, April 18, and the following Sunday, April 25, would have to be Easter; causing an error of a week.

POSTSCRIPT.

The day of the week, for any date of the Christian era, can be found without difficulty by the method detailed in our former article, to which reference has already been made. That method may however be considerably modified, and brought into a form which will probably be found convenient by those who wish to apply it to historical questions.¹ This will be now briefly detailed.

1. As before, the addition of the YEAR NO., the MONTH NO. and the DAY NO. will give, when sevens are cast out, the Day Numeral, or the number indicating the Day by its place in the Week.

2. The DAY NO. is, as before, that indicating the place of the Day in its Month, as May 27.

3. The MONTH NO. for each month will be constant for all years, and for both Old and New Style, viz.:¹

Mar., Ap., May, June, July, Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec., Jan., Feb.
 3 6 1 4 6 2 5 0 3 5 1 4

4. The YEAR NO. is thus obtained:

(a) To the date of the Year add its own fourth part, neglecting fractions.

(b) For O.S., from this sum subtract 2.

For N.S., from the same sum subtract the *centurial No. diminished by its own fourth part*, neglecting fractions.

¹ As has already been explained, for the purposes of this calculation we begin the year with March 1st, reckoning January and February as belonging to the previous year. This is to avoid the complication caused by Leap Years.

(c) Divide the number thus obtained by 7, the *remainder* is the YEAR NO.¹

5. *Example* $\frac{1895}{4} = 473$.

$$1895 + 473 = 2368.$$

For O.S. subtracting 2 we have 2366, which being divided by 7 gives [quotient 338, and] remainder 0.

$\therefore 0 =$ Year No. for 1895, O.S.

For N.S., from 2368 we subtract 14 (18-4) leaving 2354;
 $\frac{2354}{7} =$ [quotient 336, and] remainder 2.

$\therefore 2 =$ Year No. for 1895, N.S.

To find on what day July 12 will fall, for either style :

$$\text{O.S. } \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{Year No. } 0 \\ \text{Month No. } 6 \\ \text{Day No. } 12 \end{array} \right\} = 18 = 4,^2 \text{ or } \textit{Wednesday} \text{ (4th day of week).}$$

$$\text{N.S. } \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{Year No. } 2 \\ \text{Month No. } 6 \\ \text{Day No. } 12 \end{array} \right\} = 20 = 6, \text{ or } \textit{Friday}.$$

J. G.

¹ That is to say, find how many days have occurred over and above an exact number of weeks, from the beginning of the Christian era to the year in question.

This number being divided by 7, we find how many weeks these extra days make up, and how many days remain over, not amounting to a week : it is these last alone that affect this calculation.

For O.S., the figure 2 has to be subtracted, as otherwise the MONTH NO.'s for O.S. would have to be made each less by 2 than those for N.S. It has already been remarked that the starting-point, from which N.S. is calculated, is not the beginning of the era, but the century 200-299.

² Sevens being cast out.

Copyright.

IN no branch of our law is the desirability of improvement and codification more obvious than in that relating to copyright. In 1878 the report of the Copyright Commissioners was issued, to which was appended a digest of the law, as it then stood, by the masterly hand of the late Sir James Stephen, yet no steps towards adopting the suggestions then put forth have been taken, and the law still remains a tangled mass of badly drawn statutes; or, as the Commissioners put it, "the law is wholly destitute of any sort of arrangement, incomplete, often obscure, and even when it is intelligible upon long study, it is in many parts so ill-expressed that no one who does not give such study to it can expect to understand it." The Acts of Parliament dealing with the subject are chiefly remarkable for obscurity of style and defective arrangement. They are full of unnecessary distinctions and various methods of dealing with subjects of the same nature. Thus the periods of protection differ without any apparent reason, and the rules as to registration are very varied and inconsistent. In one case¹ registration must have preceded the infringement complained of; in another case² it need only precede the commencement of an action against the infringer, while in three cases³ registration is not required at all.

The law being in this complicated and unsatisfactory state, it is obvious that our remarks for the readers of *THE MONTH* can only be of an elementary nature, giving a bare outline of the subject.

I.

HOME COPYRIGHT.

An author's rights in his literary or artistic works are treated as rights of property, and are two-fold. 1. He has the right, in the

¹ That of paintings, drawings, and photographs. 25 and 26 Vict. c. 68, s. 4.

² That of books. 5 and 6 Vict. c. 45, s. 24.

³ Those of plays (except as to the book printed), engravings, sculpture, &c.

first instance, to publish his work or not as he thinks fit, and to prevent others from publishing it. This is a Common Law right of ownership, and does not depend upon statute ; and, 2, he has a further right after publication to republish and to prevent others from republishing. It is doubtful whether this was a right recognized by the Common Law, it is more probably "the creature of statute ;"¹ but, be this as it may, it is certainly now regulated by statute.

An instance of the right to prevent publication of unpublished writings is found in the case of ordinary letters.

When a person sends a letter to another the rights over it are divided. The property in the paper passes to the receiver, or person to whom the letter is addressed, while the right to prevent publication remains in the writer. The receiver gains no right to publish the letter to the world, except for some very grave reason ; for instance, where the production of the letter is ordered by a court of law to forward the ends of justice ; or where the publication by the receiver is necessary to vindicate his character against unfounded and injurious imputations. But this right of publication by the receiver is strictly limited to occasions of the kinds indicated, and any attempt to publish a letter without sufficient cause will be restrained by injunction. Thus in the case of *Lytton v. Devey*² in 1884, Miss Devey, the executrix of Lady Lytton, sought to publish certain letters written by the late Lord Lytton to his wife in order, as she said, to vindicate the character of Lady Lytton from charges said to be contained in a book written by her son. Vice-Chancellor Bacon, however, considering that the book in question cast no imputation upon the deceased lady, and that her son had always spoken of her with due respect, granted an injunction restraining Miss Devey from publishing the letters, although in property they belonged to her as the executrix of the person to whom they were sent.

The property in the paper, then, vests in the receiver, while the general rights over the contents of the letter remain in the writer. But the question arises, in whom is the property vested after the letter is posted, during its transmission, and until it is delivered? Suppose a letter is stolen in the post, who is the person to take proceedings? The Statute 7 Will. 4 and 1 Vict. c. 36, contains provisions, not only regarding the theft of letters,

¹ Per Lord Watson in *Caird v. Sime*. L.R. 12 App. Cas. at p. 343.

² 54 L. J. Ch. 293.

&c., by post-office officials, but also by any member of the public; and it is provided that where an offence is committed in respect of a letter or valuable sent by the post, it shall be lawful, in the indictment against the prisoner, to lay the property in the letter or packet in the Postmaster General. A case of this sort arose in 1846.¹ The prisoner had been a cook in the service of Mrs. G——, at Upton Bishop, near Ross. She was about to leave, having herself given notice to do so, and was in treaty with a Mrs. D——, of Cheltenham, for a similar situation. That lady had consented to employ her if a satisfactory answer should be returned by Mrs. G—— to a letter written by Mrs. D—— for the character of the servant. Mrs. G——, having found fault with the prisoner, discharged her before the notice had expired, and told her that she should not give her a character. The day after her dismissal the prisoner went to the post office at Ross and applied for a letter from Cheltenham for Mrs. G——, stating that she was her servant. On being informed that one letter alone could not be given, she took from the post office all the letters for Mr. and Mrs. G——, including the one from Mrs. D——. This she burnt, but handed the others to the person who was in the habit of taking the letters from the Ross post office to Upton Bishop, and they reached Mr. and Mrs. G—— in safety. The prisoner pleaded guilty to an indictment "of stealing from an officer of the post office a post letter, the property of the Postmaster General." The question arose whether, as she had not taken the letter for the sake of gain, her act amounted to larceny. This point was argued before eleven judges, and in the end she was convicted of larceny.

The law relating to lectures affords another instance of the right to prevent publication. What are the rights of a lecturer before publication of his lecture? and what amounts to publication? The following answers are covered by authority.² "The author of a lecture retains a right of property in his work which entitles him to prevent its publication by others, until it has with his consent been communicated to the public." But, "upon such communication being made to the public, whether orally, or by the circulation of written or printed copies of the work, the author's right of property ceases to exist."

The question, however, has several times arisen, What amounts to a communication to the public? And it has been

¹ Reg. v. Jones. 2 Car and K. 236.

² Caird v. Sime. L.R. 12 App. Cas. at p. 343.

decided that delivery of the lecture before a select audience does not amount to a publication of the work. Thus in *Nicols v. Pitman*,¹ the plaintiff delivered a lecture at the Working Men's College upon "The Dog as the Friend of Man," the audience being limited to persons who had obtained tickets gratuitously distributed by the committee of the College. Mr. Pitman, the well-known author of a system of shorthand writing, took down the lecture almost verbatim, and published it in his magazine, *The Phonographic Lecturer*. An injunction was granted to restrain the publication on the ground that the understanding between a lecturer and a select audience is that, although the audience are to be at liberty to take the fullest notes for their own instruction or amusement, they are not to publish the lecture for profit.

Upon the same principle of implied condition it was decided by the House of Lords that a Professor of a University, who delivers to his pupils lectures which are his own literary compositions, does not communicate them to the whole world so as to entitle any one to republish them without his permission.² But in the same case it was laid down that a lecturer who addresses himself to the public generally, has abandoned his ideas to the public, and has published his lecture. His only course, if he wishes to retain his rights, is to take advantage of the Statute 5 and 6 Will. 4, c. 65, which secures to the author of a lecture, or any person to whom he has sold a copy for the purpose of delivering the same, the sole right of printing and publishing it, provided notice in writing of the intended delivery shall have been given two days beforehand to two justices living within five miles of the place of delivery. If after this copies are printed and sold, a penalty of one penny for every sheet found in the custody of the wrong-doers may be recovered, half the penalty to go to the Queen and the other half to the informer.

Another instance of implied contract not to publish is found in the case of an ordinary engagement for a photographic portrait.

A lady called at a photographer's studio and sat for a portrait. Shortly afterwards it came to her knowledge that the photograph was being exhibited in the photographer's window and sold in an ornamented form as a Christmas card. Mr.

¹ L.R. 26 Ch. D. 374.

² *Caird v. Sime*, L.R. 12 App. Cas. 326.

Justice North said: "In my opinion the photographer who uses the negative to produce copies for his own use without authority, is abusing the power confidentially placed in his hands merely for the purpose of supplying the customer; and further, I hold that the bargain between the customer and the photographer includes, by implication, an agreement that the prints taken from the negative are to be appropriated to the use of the customer only." The Statute 25 and 26 Vict. c. 68, s. i. vests the copyright, in the absence of agreement to the contrary, in the customer, but in the instance we are considering the customer's omission to register the photograph was fatal to her right to sue on the ground of copyright. The learned judge, however, held that this did not deprive her of her common law right, and accordingly granted a perpetual injunction to restrain the photographer from continuing to exhibit and sell the prints, and ordered him to pay the costs.¹

An author has, as we have already mentioned, a right after publication to republish, and to prevent others from republishing, his work. This is called in the strict sense his "copyright." It is "the sole and exclusive liberty of printing, or otherwise multiplying copies;"² or, in the case of dramatic pieces and musical compositions, the sole right of public representation or performance.³

The period of protection for books, published in the lifetime of the author, is the life of the author and seven years after his death, or forty-two years from first publication, whichever be the longer period. For books published after the author's death it is forty-two years from first publication. In this case the copyright is vested in the proprietor of the manuscript. There is no copyright in works which are not original, or which are libellous or immoral.

In the case of an encyclopædia, magazine, newspaper or other periodical work, the copyright is in the publisher or proprietor, provided he has paid the writers of the articles, and employed them on the terms that the copyright shall belong to the publisher or proprietor; but during a period of twenty-eight years the author's consent must be obtained for separate publication, after which the right of separate publication reverts to the author.

The owner of the copyright cannot prevent others from

¹ Pollard v. Photographic Co. L.R. 40 Ch. D. 345.

² 5 and 6 Vict. c. 45, s. 2.

³ *Ibid* s. 20.

making a fair use of the book ; for instance, reasonable extracts may be made ; or even the information and ideas contained in the work may be used, so long as the result does not substantially amount to a copy. And, in order to provide against the suppression of works of importance to the public, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council are empowered, on complaint that the proprietor of the copyright in any book, after the death of its author, has refused to allow its republication, to grant a licence to the complainant to publish the book on such conditions as they shall think fit.¹

The period for which the right of performing dramatic or musical compositions is protected is the same as that provided for books, and the first public performance is equivalent to first publication.

Registration at Stationers' Hall of the proprietorship of the copyright in books and musical and dramatic works, and of any assignment thereof, is necessary before proceedings for infringement can be taken. This registration does not confer the right, but is a condition precedent to the application of the remedy.

In the case of musical compositions first published after August 10, 1882, it is now provided² that a notice is to be printed on every copy, if it is desired to retain the right of public performance.

To dramatize an author's work would not be an infringement of his copyright. But, if the play contains passages from the book, printing or otherwise multiplying copies of it would be an infringement. Thus in the case of *Warne and Co. v. Seebohm*.³ The plaintiffs were the publishers in England of Mrs. Burnett's book, *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, the defendant had dramatized the story and produced the play at the Prince of Wales's Theatre. Very considerable passages of the play, including some prominent and striking parts of the dialogue, were extracted almost verbatim from the novel. For the purpose of production the defendant had made four copies of the play, either in manuscript, or by aid of a typewriter. One copy had been deposited with the Lord Chamberlain ; the other three were in the possession of the defendant and the persons employed in the representation of the piece, and the defendant considered himself entitled to make such additional

¹ 5 and 6 Vict. c. 45, s. 5.

² 45 and 46 Vict. c. 40.

³ L.R. 39 Ch. D. 73.

copies as might be necessary for further representations in London and elsewhere. Mr. Justice Stirling, in giving judgment, said, "I think that what has been done, and is intended to be done, by the defendant constitutes an infringement of the plaintiff's legal rights, no less than if the defendant had printed and published his play; and, notwithstanding the smallness of the damage, I consider myself bound by authority . . . to grant a perpetual injunction to restrain the defendant from printing, or otherwise multiplying copies of his play, containing any passages copied, taken, or colourably altered from the plaintiff's novel, . . . so as to infringe the plaintiff's copyright therein." The copies were ordered to be delivered up to the plaintiffs for the cancellation of all copied or colourably imitated passages, and the defendant was ordered to pay the costs.

It seems that the only way for an author to secure the full fruit of his labour is to dramatize his work himself before the publication of his book, for, if he postpones it till afterwards, he cannot prevent others from dramatizing it also. The Royal Commissioners who reported on the Law of Copyright in 1878, were of opinion that the law should be changed in this respect, and assimilated to that of France and the United States, and that the right of dramatizing a work should be secured to an author for the full period of his copyright in the book itself.

The inventor or producer of an engraving, etching, print, or lithograph, executed or designed in Great Britain, is entitled to copyright for twenty-eight years. No registration is necessary, but the day of publication and the name of the proprietor must appear on each copy.

The period for sculpture is fourteen years (provided the name of the proprietor and date of publication be engraved on every model and every cast), with a further period of fourteen years if the proprietor is living at the expiration of the first period.

The author of an original painting, drawing, or photograph not sold or disposed of before July 29, 1862, has the sole right of reproduction for life and seven years after his death. But when the work is disposed of for the first time after that date, the copyright must be settled by written agreement between the parties. If the work is executed by the author for a customer as a matter of business, the customer is entitled to the copyright. The copyright should be registered as soon as possible, for, in this case, no action can be brought,

nor any penalty recovered, in respect of an infringement which has taken place before registration.

In two recent cases¹ it has been decided that neither (1) representations of pictures by *tableaux vivants*, nor (2) rough sketches of these tableaux in an illustrated newspaper made for the purpose, not of representing the original paintings, but of showing the public what was going on at the theatre where the tableaux were represented, constituted an infringement of the copyright in the pictures. But Lord Justice Lindley guarded himself against laying down, generally, that in no case could a drawing in a newspaper amount to an infringement, and also against the proposition that intention to infringe was necessary.

It will doubtless be expected that a short and easy reply can be given to the question, "What persons are entitled to the protection of the law of copyright?" but unfortunately the answer of our law is provokingly complicated. It may perhaps be stated thus:

In order to be entitled to copyright,

1. The Author of a Book must (a) publish it in the United Kingdom, and (b) must either be a subject of the Queen, or resident in Her Majesty's Dominions.
2. The Author of a Play gains the right by simply producing the Play in the United Kingdom, no matter of what nationality he is, or where he is living.
3. The Author of an Engraving or Print must have executed or designed it in Great Britain (mere publication here is not sufficient).
4. The Author of a Painting, Drawing, or Photograph must be either a subject of the Queen, or resident in the British Dominions.
5. The Author of a piece of Sculpture may be anybody and live anywhere. The draftsman of the Act of 54 Geo. III. c. 56, apparently forgot to insert any qualification!

Here we have a perplexing and unmeaning mixture of localities of residence and publication, "Her Majesty's Dominions," "The United Kingdom," and "Great Britain," with arbitrary mention or omission, apparently as the fancy took the draftsman, of the allegiance of the author; and, in one sole instance, an exaction as to the place where the work is to be

¹ Hanfstaengl v. Empire Palace [1894] 2. Ch. 1, and Hanfstaengl v. Newnes. [1894] 3. Ch. 109. Affil. House of Lords (1895) a.c. 20.

executed or designed. This confusion is no doubt due to the piecemeal manner in which our copyright law has been made. Let us hope that before long the subject may be reduced to a simple and intelligible system.

The principal remedies of an author whose copyright has been infringed are (1) an action for damages, and (2) an application for an injunction to restrain the offender. Penalties, varying in amount, may also be recovered in cases relating to Musical and Dramatic Performances, Engravings and Prints, Paintings, Drawings, and Photographs, also for the unauthorized importation of books in which copyright exists.

INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT.

Before 1886 International Copyright depended upon a Statute of 1844, with its amending Acts, by which the Queen was enabled, by means of Orders in Council, to extend the benefit of the English Copyright Acts to authors of works first published in foreign States; but, of course, a separate Foreign Treaty and Order had to be made in the case of each country concerned.

In 1886, however, a statute was passed to empower Her Majesty to issue Orders in Council embodying the chief features of a draft Convention agreed to at the Berne Conference in 1885.

The Berne Convention was signed on September 5, 1887, for the formation of an International Copyright Union amongst certain contracting States; provision being made for the admission of other States who might desire to join later.

The countries at present embraced in the Union are the British Empire, Belgium, France, Germany, Hayti, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Tunis, Luxembourg, and Monaco.

An Order in Council came into operation on December 6, 1887, and is to be construed as if it formed part of the Act of 1886.

The rights of foreign authors in British dominions rest upon this Order, which incorporates the Berne Convention and is, as we have seen, made under the authority of the Act of 1886; while those of English authors in the foreign States of the Union depend upon the Berne Convention, together with any legislation which has been found necessary in any particular country to give effect to that Convention, similar to the English Act above referred to.¹

¹ Scrutton's *Law of Copyright*, p. 190.

The object of the Convention was to give to authors in any country of the Union and their representatives the same rights as those enjoyed by natives in the other countries, with respect to their works both published and unpublished, on compliance with the formalities required by the country of origin of the work.

The term of protection, however, is not to exceed in the other countries the term accorded by the country of origin. Thus the duration of copyright in England of works produced in one of the foreign countries will be the English period, or that of the country of origin, whichever be the shorter. For instance, a Frenchman who produces a book in his own country will enjoy copyright in England, not for the French period of life + 50 years, but for the English, which is shorter, viz., for life + 14 years, or 42 years in all.

Articles from newspapers or periodicals published in one of the countries may be reproduced in the others, unless the authors or publishers have expressly forbidden it. But no such prohibition can apply to articles of political discussion, or to the reproduction of the news of the day, or current topics.

Authors in any of the States in the Union have in the others exclusive rights of translating their works for ten years from the publication of the original work.

The Act of 1886 provides that the English Copyright Acts shall apply to a literary or artistic work first produced in a British possession, in like manner as they apply to a work first produced in the United Kingdom.

America has not joined the Union, but in 1891 an Act of Congress was passed which enabled foreign authors to acquire copyright in America, on compliance with certain conditions as to printing; provided the State to which the author belongs admits Americans to the benefit of its copyright laws, or is a party to an international agreement providing for reciprocity of copyright, in which the United States have the option of joining. The President has now declared that this country, France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Germany come within the purview of the Act referred to.¹

WILLIAM C. MAUDE.

¹ Copinger's *Law of Copyright*, p. 625.

Reviews.

I.—THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.¹

THE work which the late Professor Milligan has left behind him is devout, learned, and, judged by Catholic standards, mainly correct. Only it is beset by some of that mistiness and vagueness of utterance, which so often goes with piety outside the visible Church.

There is hardly a chapter in the Bible that offers more texts to try a commentator. Taking such a verse as v. 17: "If Christ hath not been raised, your faith is vain: ye are yet in your sins" (R.V.), Mr. Milligan sees well enough that it means more than this, that if Christ has not risen, as He said He would, He is either a deceiver or deceived, and therefore no Christ at all, and no Redeemer. The verse asserts an objective connection between Christ's Resurrection and our justification. To explain this connection, Mr. Milligan falls back, unwittingly perhaps, upon a doctrine of the Council of Trent, that justification and sanctification are one and the same process. So far, so good. But he fails clearly to make out the real point of the matter, that in the present order of Providence holiness and the life of grace for man mean membership with a living Christ. (1 Cor. vi. 13—15; xii. 27.) But such membership would be impossible, if Christ had not risen from the dead: holiness therefore would be impossible, and therefore forgiveness of sin, as none is forgiven who is not made holy.

Verses 23—28 are very beautifully explained, and vindicated against those who would read into them the doctrine of the millennium. But what of that puzzling v. 29, "They that are baptized for the dead"? Under the idea of Baptism, Mr. Milligan here would include all that a man undertook to do and suffer

¹ *The Resurrection of the Dead.* An Exposition of 1 Corinthians xv. By the late William Milligan, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen. Edinburgh: T. Clark, 1894. 246 pp.

by professing Christianity, "the trials and sufferings which were then inseparable from the Christian profession." Bearing those trials, a Christian might be said to be "baptized" daily; and bearing them with a view to helping in and accomplishing the resurrection of the dead, he might be said to be "baptized for the dead." But surely no Corinthian ever would have conceived that St. Paul meant so much by the word "baptism," nor we either, but for Mr. Milligan.

The motive for patient well-doing, because if we are brave and steadfast in the faith, it will help the dead to rise,—is also surely a strange one, and would go very little way home to any Christian of the nineteenth century, and not much further in the first. Till the day of the resurrection dawns, and we can converse with St. Paul in the flesh, we are almost driven to suppose that some Christians had the ceremonies of Baptism performed over again on themselves, in the hope of benefiting a departed friend who had died unbaptized.

By the text, "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (v. 50), Mr. Milligan understands that the men and women who are upon the earth at the hour of our Lord's second coming, cannot enter as they are into the kingdom of God: they must first be "changed." This "change," he thinks, and we think with him, is not death, but transformation of the "natural" body, or "sensuous" body, as Mr. Milligan would render the word, into a "spiritual" body; or as St. Paul says elsewhere, "not being unclothed, but clothed upon." (2 Cor. v. 4.) This explanation in great measure prejudges the famous question of the reading of v. 51. It sets aside the Vulgate: "We shall all indeed rise again, but we shall not all be changed:" a reading, by-the-bye, which Catholics, as such, are in no way bound to hold, as Father Cornely shows, who himself rejects it. Mr. Milligan follows the Vatican manuscript, and the Greek Fathers generally, and the English Authorized and Revised Versions: "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed." "We all," he refers to all the just who shall be alive at the Day of Judgment. The explanation is a common one, and likely enough to be true, and finds favour with many Catholic commentators. The niceties of scholarship, requisite for its discussion, cannot be entered into here. But in his interpretation of the word "changed" in vv. 51, 52, as meaning something quite different from the resurrection of the dead; and again in holding that there is no antithesis between "all"

and "not all," but the same body of persons are spoken of in both clauses, Mr. Milligan, we conceive, is right.

Of the late Professor's general orthodoxy, the following passage is a fair sample :

As the "sensuous body" is the body ruled by sense, so the "spiritual body" is the body ruled by spirit. We have already seen that that time has not yet come, but it will come, when the limits of the sensuous world shall no longer hem us in ; when the restraints of our earthly, material investiture shall be broken through ; and when, under the all-pervading and dominating power of spirit, the body, in its strength, rapidity of movement, and ever-renewed youthfulness of vigour, shall be the meet companion of the soul in its loftiest flights. In the spiritual body the restrictions of the sensuous body shall wholly disappear. With it the believer shall rise superior to languor, weariness, and death. Then shall be said of him literally what can now be said of him only ideally, that he is fitted for serving God day and night in His temple, and for walking with Him in the land, the sun of which no more goes down, and the moon of which no more withdraws itself.

2.—REVEALED RELIGION.¹

Under the title of *Natural Religion*, Father Sebastian Bowden not long since gave us an English version, or rather adaptation, of the first volume of Dr. Hettinger's *Apologie des Christenthums*. In due course he now offers us a book on *Revealed Religion*, which is a similar adaptation of Dr. Hettinger's second volume. The two together supply a real want in our Catholic literature. Nothing is more common nowadays than for a priest to be asked to recommend a book, written from a Catholic point of view, on the evidence for the Christian Religion. And in future he will often be able to recommend Father Bowden's Hettinger. We say, in many cases ; for there are inquirers who would not find the treatment therein contained sufficiently thorough. This is not said in depreciation of the work before us. It is impossible to meet the wants of all by the same treatise, for what is satisfying to our minds, is just for that very reason unsatisfying to another. What one class finds to be thorough and exhaustive, another finds to be subtle and diffuse. It is necessary besides to face the fact that many

¹ *Revealed Religion*. From the *Apologie des Christenthums* of Franz Hettinger, D.D. Edited, with an Introduction by Henry Sebastian Bowden, of the Oratory. London : Burns and Oates.

opinions which were confidently advanced a decade or so since by the leaders of anti-Christian thought are now practically abandoned, and might seem no longer to need an elaborate refutation, nevertheless do need it, because they are still current among a less well-informed class. It may, however, be confidently affirmed that all who have taken interest in the war against religion raised by its modern adversaries will find in Father Bowden's pages many of their chief difficulties helpfully dealt with. Such, for instance, is the case with Hume's famous objection against miracles, that the preponderance of testimony must always be against them; and the equally famous objections that miracle involves violation of the Divine order, and that its detection requires omniscience; or the objection against the exclusive claims of Christianity woven out of the phenomena of Mahommedanism and Buddhism; or again, the objection, based on a misunderstanding of the nature of assent, that the grounds of faith cannot be conclusive, for if they were it would be impossible for any one to resist them; together with many similar objections, of which these are but specimens.

The plan of *Revealed Religion* is one familiar to Catholic theological students. After an Introduction on the nature of the evidences required to justify the assent of faith (an Introduction added by the editor), the Possibility and Moral Necessity of Revelation are investigated. By this means a presumption is established in favour of any claimant which can show satisfactory credentials, a point of much importance in days when there is a tendency to argue against revelation largely, if not mainly, on the ground of its antecedent improbability. In the next place, the credentials by which a true revelation needs to be supported, the criteria by which alone it can be satisfactorily detected—miracle and prophecy—are considered in the abstract. Then follows a discussion of the credibility of the Gospels as documents in which are recorded the claim of our Lord, and the concrete miracles and prophecies to which He appealed. A final chapter compares Christianity and its credentials, with the rival religions which are said to offer equally good grounds for acceptance. This concludes the body of the treatise, but Father Cator has added, in an Appendix, a short account and refutation of the Tübingen theory of the origin and composition of the Gospels.

For pursuing this beaten track of Catholic apologetics,

Father Bowden anticipates that he may be taken to task by Mr. Mallock, or another, as he has that gentleman for pursuing a similar course in his earlier volume. There he was blamed for persisting in the Argument from Design for the existence of God, which Mr. Mallock considers to have been exploded by the Evolution theory. Here the objection would probably be taken to the essential place in the argument assigned to miracles and prophecy; for there are many moderns, even among those who are zealous adherents of the Christian faith, at least in its non-Catholic forms, who would agree with Professor Pfléiderer when he says that, "in the present day, most Christians believe, not because of miracles, but in spite of them." In defence of his method as against such apologists, Father Bowden says: "Two reasons may be adduced for the adhering to the older and, as some would consider, exploded method. First, then, the new school of apologists have not produced encouraging results. Its more conspicuous writers, although by no means deficient in ability, research, and zeal, have, again and again, committed themselves to untenable propositions, and have, not unfrequently, incurred the condemnation of the Church." The observation is just, and the names to which he refers in support of it—the names of Günther and Froschammer, Bautain and Rosmini—have indeed a tale of admonition to administer to us. The traditional methods and arguments have stood the strain of many a violent tempest and are still sound. They may need reconsidering with a view to a deeper understanding of their merits and cogency, but they will bear it. Whilst, on the other hand, we may be sure the apologetics which undertake to dispense with such an argument as that from Design, or such criteria as miracles and prophecy, can only hope to become sooner or later the sport of the waves. They may impress for the moment some minds whose power of analysis is defective, but time will soon show up their radical insufficiency.

3.—THE DOCTRINE OF INDULGENCES.¹

The doctrine of Indulgences seems intelligible enough, and most useful in its tendency, to Catholics who make a practice of trying to gain them. Such persons know that the

¹ *Indulgences: Their Origin, Nature, and Development.* By Alexius M. Lépicier, D.D., O.S.M. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co.

effect of the doctrine is to lead them frequently and fervently to the sacraments, to engage them in many good works, and to encourage them to cultivate habits of prayer to our Lord and the Saints. With such a personal experience, they are amazed on discovering the strange misconceptions with regard to Indulgences into which non-Catholics, even when well-disposed, so commonly fall. Still, on reflection, it must be acknowledged that there are points about the doctrine, particularly about the traditional terminology in which the grants of Indulgences are expressed, which, until they have been explained, are very perplexing, and may not unnaturally mislead a non-Catholic, especially if he approaches the subject with an inherited prejudice against the Catholic Church. Thus it is not unnatural that he should take an Indulgence of so many days to promise remission of that number of days of Purgatory; that he should imagine "remission of sins" to promise a remission of guilt as well as of temporal punishment; that he should lay stress on the comparative ease of the conditions on which even Plenary Indulgences are offered; that he should be especially struck by the form in which eleemosynary Indulgences were granted in pre-Tridentine times; and that he should completely misunderstand the doctrine of vicarious satisfaction.

Probably where this kind of prejudice is strong, all the explanation in the world, however satisfactory, will not produce conviction, but only the impression that an evil doctrine, in the incapability of defending it, is being explained away by sophisms.

Still, all minds are not so prejudiced, and as really satisfactory explanations can be given, it is well to have a book which gives them with some thoroughness. With such a work the Servite Father Lépicier has now provided us. Although now at Rome, and a Professor in the College of Propaganda, the idea of writing had suggested itself in former days when he was engaged in missionary work in this country. He has accordingly written in English, and with a special view to the requirements of English readers. In his Preface he apologizes for defects in the form and distribution of matter, but no apology was necessary either for this, or for the use of scholastic terminology, which latter does not in any way exceed due limits. The texts, perhaps, and titles of the chapters, which raise expectations of a treatment in sermon form, are somewhat superfluous, but as the expectation is fortunately not fulfilled,

we need not mind them. Also some of the historical points might have been discussed and illustrated with greater fulness. Reference to an excellent little volume—now unfortunately, we believe, out of print, Father Green's *Indulgences and Tax Tables*—will explain what we have in view as wanting in Father Lépicier. Still, when all has been said by way of criticism, we can recommend Father Lépicier's volume as clearly and pleasantly written, giving a good practical account of a thorny subject-matter, and likely to be found of great use.

In the first two chapters the theology of Indulgences is explained, and in the third proofs of the Divine sanction are sought from Scripture and Tradition. The author then passes into the field of history, and after an account in two chapters of the penitential discipline of the Church, during the first four centuries, the discipline out of which the traditional modes of granting and describing Indulgences have sprung, he proceeds in the remaining six chapters to relate the history of their development from the fourth century till the present day. Points of special interest which the reader will find dealt with are the *Bulla Cruciata*, the Portiuncula, the Jubilee Indulgences, the malpractices of the Questors, and the conflict between Luther and Tetzel.

4.—CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT COUNTRIES COMPARED.¹

In England we still suffer, though nothing like so much as in former days, from outrageous charges of inferior morality, and even of positive and gross immorality, brought against Catholic populations by a low class of Protestant controversialists. It seems that American Catholics are not exempt from the same misfortune. If we have our Protestant Alliance, they have their American Protestant Association. If we have our Collettes and Kensits, they have their Bishop Newmans. The holding of the World's Fair gave rise to a virulent recrudescence of this kind of bigotry. The Catholic Church came conspicuously into prominence on the occasion, and this stirred the indignation of her enemies. Accordingly, Father Alfred Young, of the Congregation of Paulists, has been moved to examine some of the leading charges with the aid of

¹ *Catholic and Protestant Countries compared*, in *Civilization, Popular Happiness, General Intelligence, and Morality*. By Alfred Young, Priest of the Congregation of St. Paul. New York: Catholic Book Exchange.

statistics and suitable testimonies, and it is in this way that the work lying before us has come into existence. Fortunately, if the Catholic Church has unscrupulous enemies among one section of Protestants, she can also find her defenders in many a high-minded Protestant observer of the lives of her children, who have felt called to commit their testimony to writing. It is from these sources mainly that Father Young draws his evidences, such testimonies being calculated to produce conviction where Catholic testimonies are most unreasonably scouted.

The result is a work of much usefulness, with which Catholics will do well to provide themselves, although it is necessary to add that it must be read, not with simple acceptance, but with an active exercise of judgment. Statistics are proverbially dangerous things to deal with, and Father Young, whilst collecting some really valuable statistics, does not always guard himself against the danger when drawing his inferences. Sometimes the unforeseen result is to do an apparent injustice to the very cause he is defending. The testimonies in like manner are not always judiciously selected, and political theories are at times assumed to be undisputed truths. Still, as we have said, the book contains valuable materials, and several wild charges against the Catholic Church are examined and conclusively refuted. To give some idea of the ground covered, we may mention the following as among the principal subjects handled: Civilization, Missions, Good Manners, Education, Poverty and Pauperism, Infanticide, Suicide, Illegitimacy, Divorce. In regard to all these the two classes of countries are compared, and there is also an excellent chapter on the morality of Rome, in which a ridiculous charge which has done duty for a long while is investigated.

5.—A SHORT CUT TO THE TRUE CHURCH.¹

No mode of controversy is more effective than that which relies on broad issues and facts obvious to the world, and the reason is not far to seek. Such a system of argumentation is a monopoly of the Church; others may rely upon an isolated

¹ *A Short Cut to the True Church; or, The Fact and the Word.* By the Rev. Edmund Hill, C.P. Third Edition. Office of the *Ave Maria*, Notre Dame, Indiana. 174 pp.

text, divorced from its surroundings, or upon verbal criticism, or an interpretation of history, or a theory of things as they might be, but none save the Catholic Church can even dream of appealing to things as they are, and the marks written large on the face of the actual world to constitute her Notes.

In the little work under consideration, Father Hill handles this weapon with much effect. The Catholic Church, he argues, can, alone of all bodies and institutions upon earth, by any possibility be the Church of Christ. The favourite reproaches of her enemies against her, her absolutism, her dogmatism, her uncompromising condemnation of teachings contrary to her own, all these are characteristics which must belong to the keeper of Divine truth, wherever that keeper is to be found, and if they are exhibited by her alone, judgment goes by default in her favour. Therefore that she is what she is, which friend and foe alike attest, is sufficient to point her out to the seeker for truth as its only treasury.

Having thus cleared the ground, the author proceeds to examine the principal difficulties which are wont to obstruct the path of those whose eyes are turned Romewards—Papal supremacy and infallibility—the doctrine of Transubstantiation—the Sacrament of Penance—and devotion to our Lady. These points he treats in the same effective style. We have in each case, as he points out, first a great and conspicuous fact: the Pope rules a world-wide kingdom, of all nations, by his simple word; the Blessed Sacrament is adored, the tribunal of Penance is frequented, the Mother of God is honoured by millions in every land; and all this has been so throughout all the centuries of Christendom. Such a fact as each of these presents, bears witness to superhuman influence. Moreover, in each case, we have in the Word of God an utterance which explains the fact and is explained by it, but which if divorced from the fact has no meaning at all. The Fact and Word together afford absolute demonstrations of the Divine character of the doctrine in question. Finally, some minor points are more summarily handled on the same principle.

The author's style is well adapted to such a theme, and while he writes nervous and trenchant English, there is at the same time a trans-Atlantic flavour about some passages which permits the employment of more homely and vigorous phraseology than Old World writers would venture to employ, and yet things are always so managed as not to offend the sense

of the most captious. We should also remark, which is still more important, that abundant evidence is afforded of wide and carefully digested reading on the subjects treated.

6.—MOTHER FRANCIS RAPHAEL (DRANE), O.S.D.¹

It is recorded in the book before us that Mother Francis Raphael, sitting down one day to peruse Moehler's *Life of St. Athanasius*, grew so absorbed in his summary of the early doctrine connected with the Incarnation, that she read on and on insensible to the flight of time. At last the sound of a bell broke in upon her studies, when, descending as she thought to join the afternoon recreation at half-past two, she found the community filing into the refectory for supper, and that not one hour and a half but five hours and a half had sped away while she read entranced. Moehler's *Life of St. Athanasius* is not the most absorbing of biographies, at least to the general public, and the fact mentioned is chiefly noteworthy as bearing witness to Mother Drane's singular power of mental concentration. But the memoir which Father Wilberforce has here compiled of the subject of this anecdote is interesting in a very different way, and it needs no extravagant flight of the imagination to conceive many of his readers carried out of themselves, and rendered insensible to clock-chimes and lengthening shadows by this charming picture of growth in holiness.

Father Wilberforce has been very fortunate in securing a series of sketches by Mother Drane, dealing with her early life before her entry into Religion. These were in no way intended by her for publication, but were only jotted down at the earnest request of another to amuse and cheer a sick friend in illness. It is no disparagement to Father Wilberforce's share in the task to say that these autobiographical notes, happily preserved from the destruction to which many other memorials of her life were ruthlessly consigned, lend to the work its greatest attraction. They, more than anything else, give it truth and reality as a study of character, a truth which, without some such memorial to serve as a foundation, the most skilful pen could

¹ *A Memoir of Mother Francis Raphael, O.S.D. (Augusta Theodosia Drane). With some of her Spiritual Notes and Letters. Edited by the Rev. Father Bertrand Wilberforce, O.P. London: Longmans, 1895.*

hardly have attained. And Mother Drane's is a character well worth studying. Almost every incident recorded in this memoir stamps her as one endowed even by nature with mental and moral qualities of the highest order, and the discipline through which these gifts were controlled and brought under subjection for God's service, affords a noble example to all aspirants to holiness of life, religious and secular alike. A girl who, before she was twelve years old, was perfectly at home in the old black letter edition of Hollinshed's *Chronicles*, who had learned at that age to love the poetry of Milton, Homer, Shakspeare, and Spenser, and to study her history in Sully's *Memoirs*, was certainly not an ordinary child. That the same young lady in her teens, under a vague sense of carrying out the Divine injunction to "watch and pray," should not unfrequently spend the entire night in sitting or kneeling beside an open window looking out upon the sea, raising her thoughts from Nature to God, shows a mind singularly sensitive to spiritual influences. After so exceptional a childhood, we are not unprepared for the conquests over self achieved in her conversion to Catholicity and her vocation to religious life, as well as for the industry and rapidity of thought which enabled her in later days to write the whole of her *Life of St. Catherine of Siena*, a closely-printed large octavo volume of 640 pages, within the astoundingly short period of six weeks. The development of such a character could hardly be otherwise than interesting, and it is abundantly manifest, from the pages before us, how seriously this brave Religious understood the task of self-discipline, and how little she was contented with the mere impressionability, the instinctive sense of physical and moral beauty, which had, she considered, so often been the mainspring of action in her early life. Father Wilberforce has shown great tact in throwing the spiritual portrait thus delineated into high relief, and he has thereby rendered a true service to all students of perfection. The more external features of her life are not neglected, but the memoir remains a work of piety and edification in the noblest sense of the words.

The volume before us consists in all of over five hundred pages, of which the memoir occupies less than two hundred. If we touch but briefly upon the miscellaneous writings and letters, nearly all of a spiritual character, which form the bulk of its contents, it is because our readers must surely be sufficiently acquainted with Mother Drane's other published works

to be convinced that nothing which comes from her pen can be lacking either in originality or in depth of thought. We should fear to be suspected of exaggeration if we tried to express our full appreciation of the broad-minded spiritual wisdom, always clear, crisp, and practical, which breathes in the judiciously selected extracts of this volume. We have only space for a single specimen. To one "who was apt to get into a rut of despondency," she writes :

What I wanted to say was that your great obstacle was the unkind way in which you regard yourself. I put it in this language as best expressing it. It would be unkind so to judge another, even if we knew them to be in the wrong. However wrong people may be, we should not be spiteful to them, we should make allowance for their weakness ; above all, we should never forget that God made them and loves them, and earnestly wills their salvation ; that His mercy is immensely greater than their sinfulness, and that such a thing as a doom against a soul, hindering the possibility of its getting to Him, is a hideous falsehood, the invention of Satan, the very contradiction of all we know of our loving God and of the history of His dealings with souls. . . .

It is this spiritual despair of yourself, much more than any other fault, which is your spiritual obstacle, and you are bound to fling it from you. (p. 235.)

We have noted a few misprints in the volume. The works of Dibdin mentioned on p. xvii. are surely "bibliographical," not "biographical ;" Canon Bellesheim's name is misspelt on p. cxxxviii., and *forte animo esto* is twice printed on p. cxvi. ; but in general the get-up is excellent, and we have nothing but gratitude to express to Father Wilberforce and all who have helped him in preparing this admirable work.

Literary Record.

I.—BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

"Bijou" editions are as a rule designed for other purposes than practical usefulness, but in the case of the Breviary any diminution of weight and bulk in the volume which must be the companion of their lives is a distinct boon to our clergy. In their new edition of the *Horæ Diurnæ*, Messrs. Gill and Son, of Dublin, have reached a point of diminutiveness beyond which it will be impossible to go much farther. The little book, measuring three and a half by two and a quarter inches, and half an inch thick, will easily fit into the waistcoat pocket, and in spite of its small size is eminently readable for those with even moderately good sight, as we can testify from practical use, being printed in type heavy and yet clear, on opaque India paper. The publishers have also been so thoughtful as to append not only the Irish but the English supplement, though unfortunately without the Offices added or amended by the present Pope. The price in Persian morocco is 3s. 6d., and in best morocco, 4s. 6d.

The publications of the Catholic Truth Society which have been sent for notice, if they do not admit of any very extensive review, serve to emphasize one of the most notable traits of the energetic and unwearied organization whence they emanate. They are, in the modern phrase, eminently "up to date," and place within reach of all, at a nominal cost, documents of the greatest importance, which, a few years ago, if they could be procured at all, would have been offered to us in inconvenient form, and probably at a considerable price.

These reflections are suggested by their issue of a translation of Pope Leo XIII.'s now famous Letter to the English people, in excellent type for one penny. We have likewise the first instalment of the Bishop of Clifton's admirable lectures on the

Reunion of England with Rome;¹ an addition to the Biographical Series, in the *Life of the Ven. Father Edward Oldcorne, S.J.*, by Father Macleod, S.J. (one penny); *Prayers for the Conversion of England* (one penny).

*Little Comrades.*² This is an uncommonly good story of boy life and character, and though overflowing with sound and solid piety, avoids all approach to whatever might be called goody-goody. It relates the crisis in the life of a youth who has lost his mother very early, and whose father is an utter and even an aggressive unbeliever, but who is saved from the downward path which he might easily have taken, on occasion of a public instruction for First Communion; with the result that years afterwards his father himself upon his death-bed is reconciled to God. The boy's character is well drawn, and some of the minor characters are particularly interesting, above all, "Con," who from a stable-boy becomes a priest, and is the instrument of the conversion of the old freethinker with which the story closes.

*Redminton School.*³ This is a tale, or perhaps more truly an idyl, of school and country life, wherein the influence of a good Catholic boy, sent to a Protestant school, effects the conversion of two of his companions and sundry others whose acquaintance he makes. The story runs pleasantly on from start to finish, and if events fall out rather more fortunately than could be expected in real life, and the boys introduced to us are as a rule endowed with discretion and principle in a degree not commonly found, the interest is nevertheless well kept up, and we cannot but take a warm interest in the youthful actors, while the impression left by the whole is thoroughly sound and wholesome. One criticism we must be allowed to make. As is not uncommon in stories of this sort, many features of the school life here described seem to betray unfamiliarity with the reality. It seems very unlikely, for instance, that three boys of sixteen should be the sole "Prefects," having authority especially over the Sixth Form, or that in a cricket match between two good schools, the sides should have completed two innings each before lunch.

¹ Lecture 1. *Reunion greatly to be desired.* London: Catholic Truth Society. One Penny.

² *Little Comrades: a First Communion Story.* By Mary T. Waggaman. Philadelphia: Kilner and Co.

³ *Redminton School.* By C. M. Home. London: Art and Book Company. Lætare Series. 406 pp. 2s. 6d.

From the *Messenger* Office, Wimbledon, we receive the *Maxims and Counsels of Father de la Colombière*, so well known to many for the point and solidity of their utterances. Well printed, and in a most handy form as they now are, they should have a wide circulation and be productive of much spiritual fruit.

The mention of the above Office suggests a word concerning the well-known and esteemed publication from which it gets its name. The practical use to which the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* turns its wide popularity is well illustrated by the "General Intention" for July, which is "The Catholic Elementary Schools of England," and opportunely reminds Catholics at this critical moment in the world of politics, that there is an all-important question, above and beyond parties, to the right solution of which all the power possessed by Catholics should be devoted. A vigorous leader enforces the principles on this head which should be familiar to all our people, and which if they were thoroughly grasped would urge us on to such exertions as would make us felt to be a practical power. The *Messenger* has recently arrayed itself in a new garb, on the preparation of which considerable care has evidently been expended.

II.—MAGAZINES.

Articles in recent numbers :

The CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA. (June 15.)

The Brief of Leo XIII. to the Fathers of the Oratory. The Centenary of St. Philip Neri. Pope Nicholas III. and the Orsinis. The History of Tasso according to Giosue Carducci. Ricordo Materno (a Tale). Reviews. Science. Chronicle.

The ÉTUDES RELIGIEUSES. (June 15.)

The Position of the Pope. *Father Prélôt, S.J.* The Week amongst the Peoples of Scripture. II. *Father Durand, S.J.* China. III. *Father Gaillard, S.J.* Herbert Spencer. II. (Mental and Social Evolution.) *Father Roure, S.J.* The Empire, Italy, and the Temporal Power under Pope John VIII. *Father Fortin, S.J.* Louis de Bourbon, grandson of the great Condé. *Father Chérot, S.J.* Miscellanies and Reviews. Chronicle.

L'UNIVERSITÉ CATHOLIQUE. (June.)

Public Instruction in France during the Nineteenth Century.

E. Allain. The Aureoles of Joan of Arc. *Father Belon,*

O.P. The Conversion of M. Huysmans. *Abbé Delfour.*

Unprinted Notes of Bossuet on Genesis, &c. *O. Rey.*

The earliest French Bishoprics and their lists of Bishops.

C. F. Bellet. Recent Science. *A. Arduin.* Recent

History. *F. Vernet.* Christianity in Lyons before

Constantine. *E. Charvériat.* Reviews, &c.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KATHOLISCHE THEOLOGIE. (3rd Quarter,
- 1895.)

The State and the School. *F. Stentrup, S.J.* Pusey and
the Catholic Tendencies of the Tractarian Movement.

A. Zimmermann, S.J. Luther and Lemnius. *E. Michael,*

S.J. Probabilism or Æquiprobabilism. *Ph. Huppert.*

Reviews and Notes.

REVUE BÉNÉDICTINE. (June.)

St. Prosper of Reggio. *Dom Germain Morin.* Venerable

John Roberts, O.S.B. *Dom Bede Camm.* The Bradshaw

Society Publications. *C. A.* Recent Contributions to

Benedictine History. *Dom U. Berlière.* Reviews and

Obituary.

LA QUINZAINE. (June 15.)

The Year 1835. *M. Gorecka.* Corot: Letter to P. Harel.

E. Turquet. Wagner's Sense of the Divine. *E. de*

St. Auban. The Lighting of Paris. *R. Lambelin.*

Sous les Galons (Novel). *J. Rolland.* Corpus Christi

in Spain in the Seventeenth Century. *J. Caël.* The

Memoirs of General Thiébault. *F. Pascal.* Books and

Ideas: Gyp, &c. *G. Fonsegrive.* The London Season.

R. Loky. "The Abbé Corneille," performed at the

Théâtre Français. *L. Tiercelin.* Reviews, &c.

DER KATHOLIK. (June.)

Certitude. *Ph. Huppert.* The Clergy and Freemasonry.

A. Franz. Dean Church. *Dr. Bellesheim.* Calderon's

Auto "Los Misterios de la Missa." *Aug. Wibbelt.*

Reviews and Notes.

